

BULLETIN OF
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NOTES AND NEWS

SIR JOHN J. CONYBEARE has generously presented to the Library six manuscript codices, four in Latin, one in Dutch and one in Armenian, in memory of his father, Dr. Frederick Cornwallis Conybeare, whose valuable contributions to Armenian studies and to the documents bearing on the early history of Christianity are well known to scholars. All save two are illuminated. The earliest in date are a glossed Psalter and a Roman Missal, which are both of the fourteenth century. The former has a particular interest for Manchester by reason of its provenance, for it formerly belonged to the Orientalist John Haddon Hindley (d. 1827), who was educated at the Grammar School, was a chaplain of the Collegiate Church and was librarian of Chetham's Hospital from 1792 to 1804. The Missal appears to be of Spanish origin. Perhaps the most striking of the six in appearance, however, is a folio of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century containing the twelve books of the "Variae" of Cassiodorus, generally acknowledged to be the most important of his writings, together with other pieces. Neatly written in a clear Italian hand and with numerous large initials in flat colours of blue, green, brown, yellow and red, it opens with a typical page decorated with an illuminated border, a miniature of the author in the first initial and a coat of arms emblazoned at the foot; unfortunately the coat is so badly defaced that it can be of little help in determining the manuscript's provenance. Two fifteenth century Books of Hours are also included in the donation, one in Latin and one in Dutch. The former, which is of North French origin, with the conventional ivy-leaf pattern in its borders, has a

THE
CONYBEARE
MANU-
SCRIPTS

sixteenth-century binding of some interest. In brown calf over wooden boards, it bears on each cover two impressions of a panel showing the Annunciation, each surrounded by the legend: "Ave . gracia . /plena . dominus . tecum . /O . mater . /Dei . memento . mei", interrupted at the four corners by a flower. The Dutch "Horae" contains many large initials in gold and colours and has human figures, grotesques, dragons and birds of various kinds introduced into its borders. The remaining manuscript, an Armenian Gospel Book of the sixteenth century, beautifully written in double columns within gold and red rulings, is adorned throughout with illuminated initials and with marginal decorations of Christ and the Saints, birds, and other ornaments in red and blue, heightened with gold; it retains its original binding of stamped leather. With these codices Sir John Conybeare has also kindly presented a translation, made by his father, of the Ecclesiastical History (A.D. 306-439) of Socrates Scholasticus, noteworthy because it incorporates some important and apparently neglected readings from the Old Armenian version of circa A.D. 600. In addition the gift includes two fifteenth century printed editions of Dante, which are referred to below.

Some twenty years ago the Library acquired a large number of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century letters, papers, account books and other business records of Samuel Oldknow, one of the outstanding figures in the history of the early cotton industry and of the factory system. It was believed at the time that the collection comprised all that had survived of these records, which appear to have suffered many vicissitudes, but recently another four hundred have come to light and the Library has been fortunate in being able to acquire them and add them to the 'parent' collection. Samuel Oldknow, who was born in 1756 and died in 1828, was the first successful maker of British muslins and his achievements are noted in the works of such leading contemporary authorities as Robert Owen, William Radcliffe and John Kennedy. He had a large mill at Mellor, which subsequently passed into the hands of the Arkwrights

THE
OLDKNOW
PAPERS.

and was almost completely destroyed by fire in 1892. A detached portion, however, lying by the river-side, not far from his residence, escaped destruction by burning and, although in a dilapidated condition, continued to be used for general industrial purposes. It was in this ruin that the original collection of Oldknow's papers was found and their discovery led to the publication of a volume by the Manchester University Press on "Samuel Oldknow and the Arkwrights" by Professor George Unwin, with chapters by Mr. Arthur Hulme and Mr. George Taylor. In Professor Unwin's words, the Oldknow papers afford "a unique illustration both of the final phase of the 'domestic' industry and of the earliest phase of the factory system". The four hundred additional items now acquired include invoices, pay tickets, stock books, time books, miscellaneous note books, and a number of letters addressed to Oldknow himself. They fit so closely into the various groupings previously formed from the first acquisition (now Rylands English MSS. 751-840) that it has been found advantageous to distribute them amongst those groupings, instead of treating them as an appendix.

Sir Miles Talbot Stapleton, Bart., has, through the good offices of Mr. C. S. S. Higham, deposited in the Library on permanent loan an important collection of family papers, correspondence, business and estate records, accounts and similar documents, ranging in date from the late fifteenth century to the nineteenth. The bulk is of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and almost the entire collection is associated with either Sir William Stapleton, the first baronet, who died in 1686, or with his grandson the fourth baronet, also Sir William, who died in 1740. The former was appointed Deputy-Governor of Montserrat in 1668 and in 1672 became Governor-in-Chief of the Leeward Islands. Included in the deposit are his appointments as Deputy-Governor (27th April, 1668) and as Vice-Admiral of St. Christopher's and the rest of the Leeward Islands from Guadeloupe to St. John de Porto Rico (26th July, 1677), accounts

DEPOSIT
OF THE
STAPLETON
MSS. RE-
LATING TO
THE WEST
INDIES.

of Montserrat for 1672-1674 and 1677-1680, Acts of the various islands of 1683, and papers relating to his personal agents William Freeman and Patrick Trant, as well as duplicates of a number of documents now in the Public Record Office. Trant embezzled a large sum of money belonging to Stapleton and another large block of papers is concerned with the lengthy law-suit which followed (1681-1705) and which Stapleton's widow ultimately won. It is to this law-suit that we owe the presence here of a number of letters from Trant to Stapleton (1682-1686) and also of the former's statement of accounts made up to 1st September, 1685, which, together with Freeman's accounts for the preceding years from 1675, were edited by Mr. Higham in 1923 under the title "The Accounts of a Colonial Governor's Agent in the Seventeenth Century" (*American Historical Review*, Vol. XXVIII). These accounts and certain other seventeenth century items from the Stapleton Manuscripts were also drawn on for Mr. Higham's volume on "The Leeward Islands, 1660-1688" (1921) and Dr. L. M. Penson's "The Colonial Agents of the British West Indies" (1924). The third large block of papers dates from the first half of the eighteenth century and concerns mainly West Indian affairs of the fourth baronet. It comprises plantation inventories, accounts and others of his West Indian papers, mostly of the 1720's and 1730's, including lists of negroes (1727-1739) and accounts of David Stalker (1724-1737); numerous documents dealing with the sugar trade, among them being accounts of sugar sales (1722-1731); correspondence of Sir William relating mostly to West Indian affairs, including letters from Joseph Herbert, Timothy Tyrrel, Thomas Butler, sen., Thomas Butler, jun., Thomas Kerby, Thomas Elliot, David Stalker, Charles Pym and Edward Lloyd, as well as other West Indian letters; and miscellaneous business records, inventories, receipts, invoices and similar documents. Also included in the collection is correspondence of Lady Frances Stapleton (1724-1726) and of Lady Catherine Stapleton (1729-1747). A preliminary Hand-List of the whole has been compiled and may be consulted in the Library pending publication.

Considerable additions have also been made to the Library's collections of deposited documents. A further 2500 items, dating from the fifteenth century onwards, have been received from Mr. Raymond Richards for inclusion in his collection of Miscellaneous Historical Materials, to which reference was made in our previous number. The most extensive single group consists of the deeds and papers of the Kirby Hall Estate (Yorkshire, W.R.) of Sir Henry Meysey-Thompson, first Baron Knaresborough, among them being many documents concerning Great and Little Ouseburn, Kirby Hall, Branton and Upper Dansforth. Another of the larger groups relates to the Davy family, to which belonged the famous Sir Humphry Davy and his brother Dr. John Davy, F.R.S., the physiologist and anatomist. The bulk of the Davy material directly concerns the two brothers and Margaret, John's wife. Included are biographical notes, letters, medical and philosophical papers and similar materials of Sir Humphry, in the hand of John and Margaret (6 vols.), "Some Notices of my Life" by John Davy (Vol. I, 1790-c. 1830), together with copies, made by his wife, of many of his medical notes and papers (1816-1838), and an autobiography (1770-1811) of Eliza Dawson (later Fletcher), Margaret's mother. The collection provides much additional information about Margaret Davy, about whom comparatively little seems to be known, for it also includes five volumes of her Diary (1851-1867), one of her religious notebooks (1834), and three bound volumes of her original letters (169 items, July, 1821-October, 1847), all of considerable length. Another collection of correspondence among the recent additions made by Mr. Richards consists of over two hundred letters of the Elrington family of Leominster covering the century from 1745. The earlier items contain references to the '45 Rebellion, for Gerard Elrington fought against the rebels and was present at Culloden. Writing the day after that battle from "Camp near Inverness" he states: "Upon our arrival within 3 miles of this place, the rebels, whoe had collected all their strength together, formed themselves to attack us yesterday morning and, near one, we came so near each other that they cannonaded

THE
RAYMOND
RICHARDS
COLLECTION
OF MANU-
SCRIPTS.

us from off[f] a height, where they were drawn up, and we fronting them. Our cannon, in answer to theirs, play'd upon them, which they cou'd not bear so well, and they run in upon us with some thousands of their best Highlanders, but cou'd not succeed as they expected and were drove back with great loss, and ours but very little, so I think they've don[e] with the Rebellion. Their [sic] were some thousands of them kill'd and some of their Cheifs kill'd and taken. They've gon[e] over the hills with their Pretender. How he'll get off or live there [I] can't tell."

One of the features of the Bromley Davenport Muniments, deposited in this Library, is the interesting collection of seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century correspondence it contains. This correspondence includes miscellaneous letters and papers of William Bromley (1664-1732), who sat in twelve Parliaments under four sovereigns and was elected Speaker of the House of Commons in 1710. His career is perhaps best summarised in his own words, quoted here from the probate copy of his Will, which is in the present collection. Instructing his executor as to the inscription to be placed on any memorial erected to him, he writes, with apologies for "this peice of vanity": "I would have it mentioned . . . That I was chose to serve this County [Warwickshire] in two Parliaments; That I declined to serve any longer, tho' it was unanimously desired at a meeting of the Lords and Gentlemen; That I was soon forced out of the Retirement I had chose and preferred before publick Business to serve the University of Oxford in Parliament and by them was Elected one of their Members for ten severall Parliaments successively; That, refusing employments offered me in the State, I was twice appointed by Act of Parliament one of the Commissioners for taking, examining and stateing the Publick Accounts of the Kingdom; That in the reign of Queen Ann I was chose with great unanimity Speaker of the House of Commons, and upon the Dissolution of that Parliament Her Majesty was pleased to make me one of the Principal Secretaries of State, in which

PAPERS OF
WILLIAM
BROMLEY,
SPEAKER OF
THE HOUSE
OF
COMMONS,
1710.

office I continued during that good Queen's life, and when discharged by her successor he was pleased to offer me another employment, which I did not think proper to accept." Bromley's appointment as Secretary of State (17th August, 1713) is also in this collection together with various papers relating to his Speakership. A number of additions have recently been made to these papers and with them has been deposited his letter written to the Lord Mayor of London shortly before Queen Anne's death in which the alarm of the Council as to what might happen is clearly reflected. On the morning of 30th July (1714), the Queen's illness had taken a turn that would clearly prove fatal and a meeting of the Privy Council was hastily called at Kensington Palace, where she lay dying. It is from Kensington that Bromley writes on that day, informing the Lord Mayor that: "Her Majesty having been taken very ill this morning, lest the Reports thereof should give occasion to ill-minded people to raise disturbances, I am directed by the Lords of Her Majesty's Council to acquaint your Lo:^p herewith, and to desire your Lo:^p immediately to take all possible care for preserving the peace of the City, and preventing any evill consequence on this occasion." Anne died early in the morning of 1st August, and with her passing Bromley's official career practically came to a close, although he maintained an influential position in his party. He had a deep loyalty towards her and in his Will left special instructions regarding a gift of plate she had made him "out of our Jewell Office". The documents relating to this gift are preserved among the Bromley Davenport Muniments with his other papers.

It is well known that efforts were made in 1791 to save Louis XVI from his impending doom. Spain, because of the kinship of her royal house to that of France, was interested, as Godoy reveals in his memoirs, and attempts seem to have been made to induce Pitt to intercede on behalf of the British Government. But Pitt apparently deemed it prudent in view of the delicate relations with the new French Government not to proceed in the matter. In the Memoirs of

A LETTER
CONCERNING
LAFAYETTE
AND THE
DEATH OF
LOUIS XVI.

Lafayette published by his family no reference is made to any such endeavours and it is consequently all the more interesting that in a letter of the second Earl of Clare the matter is raised and Lafayette's own views recorded. John FitzGibbon, second Earl of Clare, was a close friend of Ralph Sneyd of Keele Hall, co. Stafford, and their voluminous correspondence, which contains much of importance for the social and political historian, forms part of the Keele Muniments recently deposited in this Library by Mr. Raymond Richards. The letter in question, written from Paris on 12th December, 1819, runs: "I met the other day at dinner at Mde. de Broglie's Lafayette and I found him a very agreeable old man with much more the appearance of an old aristocrat than of a factious demagogue. By the way, he has become a very moderate prosy Deputy. Nevertheless, the intimate knowledge he has of the affairs at the beginning of the Revolution, and which he *peu à peu* let out, made him an entertaining companion at the dinner table. He considerably shocked me by asserting positively that Mr. Pitt might have saved Lewis the 16th and all his family had he given 2 or 3 millions for their lives and that moreover Mr. Pitt *knew* he might !!! and yet refused to do so. I was tempted to say 'Mon' Le Marquis, tu a mente [*sic*] dans la gorge'. He added that the Baron de Stael, then Swedish Ambassador, told him that he had transmitted a proposal from the Revolutionary Government to the Court of Vienna to save the Queen and that the Emperor did not return any answer! One ought to believe the word of an Ambassador but even this fact sticks in my throat."

From 19th February to 3rd March, at the request of the Committee organising "Swiss Week in Manchester", a selection of the Library's books and manuscripts printed or written in, or associated with, Switzerland, was shown in three of the exhibition cases.

THE
LIBRARY'S
SWISS
EXHIBITION.

The two most important exhibits, both from the Germanic area around Lake Constance, were an eighth century "Epistulae" of St. Cyprian, beautifully written in pre-Caroline

minuscule, and the earliest piece of western printing with an undisputed date, the "St. Christopher" woodcut of 1423. Fifteenth-century printing was represented by books produced in the first four Swiss towns where the art was practised. From Basel, the most important of them, was shown the work of its first three printers, Ruppel, Wenssler and Richel, as well as that of later printers, Amerbach, Froben and others. Rare examples of printing in other towns were also shown; two books from the press of Adam Steinschaber, first printer at Geneva, including his first book, "*Le Livre des Anges*", 1478; one from the anonymous press at Burgdorf, c. 1475; and an early specimen of the work of Louis Cruse, Geneva's second printer.

The importance of Switzerland in the history of the Reformation was illustrated by a copy of Erasmus's Greek and Latin Testament, 1516; the first French Protestant Bible, 1535; the English Genevan versions of 1557 and 1560; and first editions of works by Zwingli, Calvin and Bullinger. Philosophy was represented by first editions of books by Voltaire and Rousseau, and history by Simler's "*De Republica Helvetiorum*", 1576, together with a group of journals and proceedings of political bodies in the Helvetian Republic of 1798. Included in the exhibition were several finely printed modern Swiss books, pre-eminent among them being the two-volume facsimile of "*The Book of Kells*", recently published in Bern, which shows Swiss book production and colour-printing at its best.

During the period of the Festival of Britain the Library has displayed a selection of its rare manuscripts and books more representative of its collections than any exhibition it has previously held. As FESTIVAL OF BRITAIN EXHIBITION. considerable interest has been aroused, it has been decided to keep this exhibition in being after the close of the Festival period and it may be seen in the show cases in the main Library. It includes jewelled bindings, Eastern and Western manuscripts, incunabula, early printed Bibles, first editions of English classics and fine printing of more recent date.

Three cases are devoted to manuscripts and among them

are examples on bark, papyrus, parchment and paper dating from the second century B.C. onwards and including many codices notable palæographically, textually and for their illumination. Eastern manuscripts include a *Ḳur'ān* of the eighth century A.D. in the Kufic script; the earliest dated manuscript (A.D. 1211) of the whole Samaritan Pentateuch outside Nablus; the now famous Odes of Solomon, in Syriac; and a fifteenth-century "Acts of St. George" in the best style of Ethiopic calligraphy. As regards illumination there is a thirteenth-century Haggadah; an Armenian Gospel Book of A.D. 1314 containing both Georgian and native work; and a sixteenth-century "Shāhnāma" with numerous exquisite miniatures. Perhaps more unusual are a Batak magical book and a volume of Javanese Bible stories, both illustrated. The Library's Western manuscripts are represented by such magnificent works of art as the ninth century "Trier Psalter", the twelfth century "Commentary of Beatus on the Apocalypse", containing over 100 large miniatures and a world map, and a thirteenth-century "Bible Historiée", as well as early Latin (ninth century) and Greek (eleventh century) Gospel Books and examples of English, French, Italian and Flemish illumination. Among literary texts are manuscripts of *Lancelot* (c. 1300), Petrarch and Dante (fourteenth century), Chaucer (a fifteenth-century fragment of "The Miller's Tale", with a tinted drawing), and Lydgate ("The Sege of Troy", fifteenth century), all illuminated, while Bede and Geoffrey of Monmouth are represented among the writers of histories. One fifteenth-century "Horae", executed in Flanders, has associations with Mary, Queen of Scots, and a Prayer Book, written and illuminated for John Islip, Abbot of Westminster (1500-1532), bears the arms of Henry VII on its binding. Several other medieval manuscripts, including early Gospel Books and "Horae", are noteworthy for their jewelled bindings and these are exhibited in a separate case. The Library's jewelled and enamelled bindings have been ranked third among the world's collections and here may be seen splendid examples of French, German and Italian workmanship in metal, ivory and precious stones, ranging in date from the tenth century to the fifteenth.

In two other cases is shown a selection of the Library's printed Bibles. Included are the most famous of all printed books, the "Gutenberg" Bible (Mainz, before 14th August, 1456) and the earliest editions in German, Italian, French and Dutch, together with the first published Greek Testament (1516), prepared by Erasmus, and the first printed Polyglott Bible, the famous "Complutensian", printed at the expense of Cardinal Ximenes. Among notable English editions are the "Coverdale" (1535), the first complete printed Bible in our tongue, and the Geneva (1560), Douai (1609) and "Authorised" (1611) versions. With these may also be seen the Library's papyrus fragments of St. John's Gospel (second century) and Deuteronomy (second century B.C.), the former regarded as the earliest known manuscript of the New Testament in any language, and manuscripts of the early and later Wicliffe versions.

In addition to incunabula displayed among the Bibles, two cases are devoted entirely to fifteenth-century printing, of which the Library has some 3000 examples. Beginning with the St. Christopher woodcut of 1423, the exhibits here include a blockbook "Apocalypse" of c. 1450 with a closely-related fifteenth-century wood-block, and many precious examples of early printing, such as the "Indulgence" of 1454, the Mainz "Psalter" of 1457 (the first dated book), and the Pfister "Biblia Pauperum". Some of the finest and rarest productions of the printing presses of Italy, France, the Netherlands and England may also be seen. Among the Caxtons, for example, are the earliest book printed in English and the earliest English illustrated book, while the work of other early English printers includes the unique copy of Malory's "Morte d'Arthur", printed by Wynkyn de Worde.

Many other names famous in English history and literature occur in other connexions, for an entire case is filled with a selection of the Library's first editions of English classics. The earliest volume shown here is Chaucer's "Canterbury Tales" printed by Caxton in 1477-1478 and with this may be mentioned another Caxton, Lydgate's "Life of Our Lady". Other well-known figures represented by first editions are Saint

Thomas More ("Utopia", first English edition), Spenser ("The Faerie Queene" and "Complaints"), Milton ("Comus" and "Paradise Lost"), Sir Thomas Browne ("Religio Medici", both the first unauthorised and the first authorised editions), Izaak Walton ("The Compleat Angler"), Bunyan ("The Pilgrim's Progress") and Shakespeare (the "First Folio" and the 1609 "Sonnets").

Finally, examples may also be seen of British fine printing of more recent date and here we may mention the Kelmscott Chaucer, on vellum; the Ashendene "Morte d'Arthur", also on vellum; a volume of the splendid Doves Press Bible, printed by Cobden-Sanderson; and specimens of the work of the Gregynog, Cuala, Eragny and Essex House presses.

In May the Library published a "Catalogue" of the Festival of Britain exhibition described above.

This exhibition, as already indicated, is being continued after the close of the Festival period and may be seen in the show cases in the main

RECENT
RYLANDS
PUBLICATIONS

Library. The "Catalogue" contains an introduction dealing with the various collections in the Library, manuscript and printed, descriptions of the exhibits, and sixteen facsimiles, and may be obtained from the Librarian at the price of two shillings and sixpence. The following publications, consisting of articles which have appeared in preceding issues of the "BULLETIN", are also available:—

"Rabbula of Edessa and the Peshitta." By Matthew Black, M.A., B.D., D.Litt., Ph.D. 8vo, pp. 8. Price one shilling net.

"Samaritan Decalogue Inscriptions." By the Rev. John Bowman, M.A., B.D., D.Phil., and Shmarjahu Talmon, M.A. 8vo, pp. 26, with facsimiles. Price two shillings and sixpence net.

"A Note on the Desceliers' Mappemonde in the John Rylands Library." By C. A. Burland, F.R.A.I. 8vo, pp. 5. Price one shilling net.

"John Peckham, O.F.M., Archbishop of Canterbury, Versus the New Aristotelianism." By Theodore Crowley, O.F.M., D.Ph., Lic.Sc.Hist., Maître Agrégé en Philosophie. 8vo, pp. 14. Price two shillings net.

"In the Quick Forge and Working-House of Thought . . . Lancashire and Shropshire and the Young Shakespeare." By Alan Keen. 8vo, pp. 15. Price two shillings and sixpence net.

"The Cleansing of the Temple." By T. W. Manson, D.Litt., D.D., F.B.A. 8vo, pp. 12. Price two shillings net.

"Batak Bark Books." By P. Voorhoeve, Litt.D. (Leiden). 8vo, pp. 16, with facsimiles. Price two shillings net.

"The First Manchester Sunday Schools." By A. P. Wadsworth, M.A. 8vo, pp. 28. Price two shillings and sixpence net.

"Hand-List of the Crutchley Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library." By F. Taylor, M.A., Ph.D. 8vo, pp. 97. Price four shillings net.

The following is a list of the public lectures (the fiftieth series) which have been arranged for delivery in the lecture-hall of the Library during the current session, 1951-1952, at 3 p.m. in the afternoon:—

THE
FIFTIETH
SERIES OF
RYLANDS
PUBLIC
LECTURES.

Wednesday, 10th October, 1951. "The Approach to Browning." By H. B. Charlton, C.B.E., M.A., D. de D., Litt.D., Professor of English Language and Literature in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 14th November, 1951. "The Old Testament in the Teaching of Jesus." By T. W. Manson, M.A., D.Litt., D.D., F.B.A., Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 12th December, 1951. "Coleridge on the Growth of the Mind." By Dorothy M. Emmet, M.A., Sir Samuel Hall Professor of Philosophy in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 9th January, 1952. "The Letters of Pope Innocent III." By C. R. Cheney, M.A., F.B.A., Professor of Medieval History in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 13th February, 1952. "The Covenanters of Damascus and the Dead Sea Scrolls." By Harold H. Rowley, M.A., D.D., Theol.D., F.B.A., Professor of Hebrew Language and Literature in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 12th March, 1952. "Some Illustrated Manuscripts of the Lives of Saints." By Francis Wormald, Litt.D., F.B.A., Professor of Palæography in the University of London.

During the first six months of the present year 1148 volumes were added to the Library by purchase.

These include six STC items, the most important being a copy of "The supplycacyon of soulys", a controversial work on purgatory written by Saint Thomas More as a reply to Simon Fish's "Supplycacyon of beggars" [1528?]; a copy of the second edition [1546] of the latter is in the Library. Although two editions of More's work were printed, probably in 1529, it is of great rarity. Of our edition, which is believed to be the later, STC records only a fragment of two leaves in the Cambridge University Library; there is, however, a copy in the Guildhall Library, London. The book is a most welcome addition to our collection of Reformation literature, for the Library already possesses an edition of the book which called it forth and of the answer to it, written by John Frith in 1533. Its purchase was made possible by the ready assistance of the Friends of the National Libraries, to whom the Governors are most grateful for their generous grant towards its cost.

PRINTED
BOOKS:
ACQUISITIONS BY
PURCHASE.

A small quarto volume, purchased recently as part of a collection, contains four of the selections of the sermons of Henry Smith, "silver-tongued Smith", printed at the end of the sixteenth century (STC. 22723, 22735, 22748 and 22778). All these selections are rare, and of one (STC. 22735) only one other copy is recorded. With the same collection were acquired an interesting volume of local interest, the "Works", published in 1694, of Henry Booth, second Baron Delamere, and an edition, printed in Venice on 3rd December, 1507, by "Jacomio de pinci", of the "Chronica Delle Vite De Pontefici Et Imperatori Romani Composta Per Francesco Petrarca". A copy of the earlier edition of this supposed work of Petrarch, printed "Apud Sanctum Jacobum de Ripoli" before 3rd February, 1479, is already on the shelves of the Early Printed Book Room.

Many works of first-rate importance in their fields are among the recent accessions: in archæology, Wade's great book on "Mycenae", published by the Princeton University Press, the first part of the report of the Trojan excavations carried out by the University of Cincinnati, and Sir Alan Gardiner's "Ancient Egyptian Onomastica"; in bibliography, Sadleir's "XIXth Century Fiction", Hase's "Die Koberger", and the photographic reprint of George Watson Cole's "Catalogue of books relating to America forming part of the library of E. D. Church", in five volumes; in palæography, Ancona's "Dictionnaire des miniaturistes", the Engelberg volume of the "Scriptoria Medii Aevi Helvetica", the fifth volume of Lowe's "Codices Latini Antiquiores", and a photographic reproduction of Snouck-Hurgronje's manuscript Catalogue of Malay manuscripts in the Berlin State Library; and in philology, Vacca's "A B C Japanese Dictionary" and Gardette's "Atlas linguistique du Lyonnais". The Library's Oriental collection has been materially strengthened by the purchase of 35 volumes of the publications of the Oriental Translation Fund, which brings the Library's set very much nearer to completeness.

Efforts to overtake war arrears in sets issued on the continent of Europe have continued and several series, including "Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria", "Bibliothèque Méridionale" and "Texte und Arbeiten herausgegeben von Erzabtei Beuron" have now been brought up to date. The Library has also commenced to subscribe to a number of new journals, including "Israel Exploration quarterly" and "Vetus Testamentum".

Since the last issue of the BULLETIN the Library has acquired 298 volumes by gift, 118 volumes presented by 29 individual donors and 180 volumes by 68 institutions. Once again the Library has benefited from gifts in exchange from libraries and academic institutions in many parts of the world, and important gifts of their publications have been received from the Universities of Copenhagen, Michigan, Glasgow and New York, from the Manchester University Press, and from the Egyptian Library

GIFTS
TO THE
LIBRARY.

in Cairo. In several instances old exchange relations have been resumed, notably with Lund University Library, who have recently presented 11 volumes of "Lund Studies in English". New exchanges have been arranged with a number of institutions: 34 volumes dealing with Swedish art, archæology, literature and history have been received from the Stockholms Högskolas Bibliotek, who are to send us regularly two important series, "Stockholm Studies in English" and "Studia Romanica Holmiensia"; from the Istituto Storico Domenicano have come the 12 volumes of "Archivum" and 3 volumes of "Monumenta" required to complete sets purchased before the war; and from the University of Namur 9 volumes of the "Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres" and 5 volumes of "Studia Pacis".

The Hebrew section of the Library has been greatly strengthened during the same period by the generosity of the family of N. Kingsley, Esq. From the Fund established in their name several important Hebrew works have been purchased, including Landau's "Noda Biyehuda", 2 vols., 1899, and the subscription has been paid for the five volumes of the new Hebrew "Encyclopedia Biblica", published by Mosad Bialik, Jerusalem, the first volume of which has already appeared. The same department is greatly indebted to the Friends of the John Rylands Library: Hebrew Section. From this source have come Klausner's "Historia Shel Habait Hasheni", 5 vols., 1950-51; the Alexander Marx Memorial Volumes, Hebrew and English; the "Toldoth Hassifrut" of Ben Ur, 3 vols., 1950; and the 10 volumes of the "Encyclopedia Judaica", published in Berlin from 1928 to 1934.

Our Early Printed Book Room has been enriched by two gifts, all the more welcome as it is now rarely possible to add to our collection of incunabula. The Oldham Lyceum Library has presented a copy of St. Antoninus's "Summa", printed by Grueninger at Strassburg in 1496; the four volumes, bound in two, are in sixteenth-century bindings. Included with a gift of manuscripts from Sir John J. Conybeare, in memory of his father, F. C. Conybeare, are two fifteenth-century editions of Dante's "Divina Commedia", both printed in Venice, the one

by Vindelinius de Spira in 1477, the other by Octavianus Scotus in 1484.

In February H.E. the Swiss Minister paid a visit to the Library to view the Swiss exhibition, and on that occasion presented, on behalf of the Fondation "Pro Helvetia", 10 volumes representative of modern Swiss scholarship and book production.

From Richard Hawkin, Esq., of Darwen, always a generous donor to the Library, we received a collection of 42 books and pamphlets dealing with topography, history and archæology, mainly of the county of York, and with social and industrial conditions of the last century. They form a valuable pendant to the collection presented by Mr. Hawkins some months ago, described in our last issue, and include further rare items relating to Jonathan Martin, the incendiary.

During the first half of 1951 the following donors have made valuable gifts to the Library, and to them the Governors of the Library offer their grateful thanks :—

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In addition to these donations a number of learned societies and other bodies have continued to present copies of their periodical publications.

CHURCH-BUILDING IN THE MIDDLE AGES¹

By C. R. CHENEY, M.A., F.B.A.

PROFESSOR OF MEDIEVAL HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

MANY years ago, that great liturgical scholar and antiquary, Edmund Bishop, wrote a delightful essay entitled "How a cathedral was built in the fourteenth century".² He used the accounts of Milan Cathedral from 1387 onwards to give a vivid picture of the variety of effort and ingenuity of organization which was used to raise funds for this enormous enterprise. There were house-to-house collections and money-boxes put on shop counters. All sorts of gifts in kind came in and a jumble sale was held weekly or fortnightly to dispose of them. The craft-gilds of armourers, drapers, and others, mobilized their members to work on the site without payment. Penitents paid money to the fabric-fund as part of the satisfaction for their sins. An unexpected contribution came when old coins were dug up in the foundations, to the value of six pounds thirteen shillings.

Every one of our great medieval churches is the result of similar prolonged and varied efforts. France and England could produce parallels to all the methods of the Milanese.³ I wish to-day to consider this matter of raising funds for churches in connexion with the uses for which churches were designed and the reason why men responded to appeals. I shall confine myself to the great churches attached to cathedrals and monasteries. Most of my remarks will directly concern English and French churches within the four centuries between 1100 and 1500, but you will readily discern how they apply to other periods and places.

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on Wednesday, the 10th of January, 1951.

² *Downside Rev.*, July 1893, reprinted in his *Liturgica historica* (1918), pp. 411-421.

³ Cf. C. Enlart, *Manuel d'archéologie française*, i (Architecture religieuse), 3rd ed., i (1927), 85-89.

How and why were the churches built? The questions, though separate, are related. I am concerned, not with the technique of building or the history of the masonic craft in the Middle Ages, but with certain ways in which money was found for advancing these great projects and with the shape the churches took. Each part of my subject is covered by an ample and learned literature. Yet there is, maybe, justification for trying to deal—imperfectly and at the risk of confusion—with several questions in one, and to treat together several subjects which are normally discussed separately in their own right.

The cathedral and monastic churches were not parochial churches in the ordinary sense: they were churches for communities of canons and monks and nuns; and those communities employed the labour and paid for the buildings.¹ They did so either out of their general fund of accumulated capital or by persuading others to subscribe to the work in hand. In some few cases, a single benefactor, prelate or prince, bore the whole cost. Why this generosity? Why did the canons of a cathedral or the monks of a monastery choose to spend their money in this way, and why did their benefactors provide them with the means, directly or indirectly? The short answer is that the Catholic faith held such an empire in the minds of men that they were persuaded to build churches to the greater glory of God, and to think no building too magnificent for His service. But we can and ought to be more precise. Certain specific articles of the Catholic faith and certain features of the popular cult were of overwhelming importance in determining both the direction and the volume of this activity.

Foremost among these are the belief in miracles and the belief in the intercession of saints. These hallow certain spots because of events which happened there, or because of the holy relics which they contain, or because of both. The Palestinian churches connected with the life of Jesus Christ are of the first sort; of the second one may instance three celebrated centres

¹ On the organizers and architects of church-building see A. Hamilton Thompson, 'Cathedral builders of the Middle Ages', *History*, N.S. x (1925), 139-150 and 'Master Elias of Dereham and the King's Works', *Archaeological Journal*, xcvi (1941), 1-35, and John Harvey, *The Gothic World* (1950), especially pp. 1-52.

in Western Europe: the tombs of St. Peter at Rome, of St. Denis near Paris, of St. Edmund at Bury. At each place, a church has incorporated the shrine. What was at first an oratory connected with a sacred incident or a saint became a place for congregational and liturgical worship.

The implications of this development have lately been the subject of a remarkable study by M. André Grabar, of the Collège de France.¹ M. Grabar traces the evolution of oratories known as *martyria* in the first Christian centuries, both in East and West. The cult of martyrs, 'witnesses' *par excellence* of the faith, found monumental expression in buildings of a sepulchral character, and their forms show a distinct and conscious dependence on the *heroa* which celebrated heroes in the pagan world.² Even when the shrine did not contain the entire body of a martyr (and already by the fourth century it was not unusual to dismember bodies of the saints) the building normally retained the form of a sepulchre. Many traces, though few complete examples, survive in Western Europe from the period between Constantine and Charlemagne. Some were circular, some were polygonal or trefoil in plan, some were made cruciform (like the palace-chapel of Galla Placidia at Ravenna, because it contained a relic of the true Cross 'a quo habet et nomen et formam').³ In the fifth century and after, many sanctuaries were built in East and West in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, her cult possibly stimulated by the definition of the Council of Ephesus (431). Their architects often adopted the central plan common for *martyria*, and it is interesting to learn from a twelfth-century writer that St. Wilfrid's buildings at Hexham included a church 'in modum turris erecta, et fere rotunda,

¹ *Martyrium. Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique*, 3 vols. (Collège de France, Fondation Schlumberger pour les études byzantines, 1946). The related subject of pilgrimage in the early Church is dealt with comprehensively in the important work of Dr. Bernhard Kötting, *Peregrinatio religiosa: Wallfahrt in der Antike und das Pilgerwesen in der alten Kirche* (Münster, 1950).

² Here M. Grabar's archæological evidence seems to be of weight in a controversy in which the late Père H. Delehaye expressed a contrary opinion (*Les origines du culte des martyrs*, 1912).

³ Grabar, *op. cit.*, i. 407. Cf. G. Sieffert, 'Ecclesia ad instar dominici sepulchri', *Rev. du moyen âge latin*, v (1949), 197-202.

a quatuor partibus totidem porticus habens, in honorem sanctae Mariae semper virginis dedicata'.¹

M. Grabar's analysis of these forms is fascinating; for a consideration of later, medieval, churches in the West it is specially significant because he demonstrates 'how the principal churches, the schools of architecture which created the new styles of the Middle Ages, followed the line formerly indicated by the Constantinian architects of Rome and accepted and consecrated by the Church. Instead of creating an independent building, they treated the enclosure for the relic as an interior *martyrium* or shrine in the chevet of the basilica'.² The shrine usually occupied the east end of a church, formed as it were a casual excrescence upon a basilican plan; but it was an excrescence which altered the whole balance of the building, introducing different planes, rounded walls, and vaulted roofs.

The effect upon church architecture was overwhelming because the cult of saints and the veneration of their relics became one of the most prominent features of medieval worship. In this cult the miraculous played an all-important part. St. Benedict appears in the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great as the wonder-worker rather than the model monk; so it was throughout the Middle Ages—and beyond. Saints were remembered less for the holiness of their lives than for their miracles. Their relics were not mere commemorative objects to be gazed at. Those of Ste. Foy de Conques, carried in procession, could quell a riot. The body of St. Lambert of Liège could bring to a successful end the siege of the castle of Bouillon.³ Others cured at touch mental and physical diseases. Small wonder, then, that the clergy of the Middle Ages frequently display a pious ferocity and lack of scruple in their hunt for relics. Duchesne has said that the theft of relics was practised throughout Christendom, nor was there any sin so venial in the eyes of the sinner and of public opinion.⁴ Even such a saintly man as Hugh of Avallon was so overcome by his devout greed, when confronted by a

¹ J. Raine, *The priory of Hexham*, i (Surtees Soc. xlv, 1864), 14. Cf. A. W. Clapham, *Eng. romanesque architecture before the Conquest* (1930), pp. 143 *sqq.* and Grabar, *op. cit.*, i, 325-326, 411-413. ² *Op. cit.*, i, 580.

³ E. de Moreau, *Hist. de l'Église en Belgique*, iii (1945), 572-573.

⁴ L. Duchesne, *Les premiers temps de l'état pontifical*, 3rd ed. (1911), p. 40.

bone of St. Mary Magdalen in the abbey of Fécamp, that (as his biographer tells us), unable to break it with his fingers he applied first his incisor teeth and then his molars to the task and quickly broke off two bits, which he handed to his attendant to preserve.¹ If anyone doubts the part played by relics in medieval religion, let him look at the numerous inventories surviving from these times,² or study those remarkable two volumes entitled *Exuviae sacrae constantinopolitanae* (Geneva, 1877-1878) in which the Comte de Riant collected the records of relics looted from Byzantium after the Fourth Crusade.

It is not necessary to expatiate on this cult, which is a thing of common knowledge, but I would emphasize that both the early romanesque crypts, with central chamber and surrounding ambulatory, and the fully developed gothic retrochoir were alike designed to serve it. Abbot Suger explicitly tells us that he re-planned St. Denis to admit of easier access for the concourse of pilgrims who thronged to the shrine at festivals.³ Most of our medieval churches have been denuded of the shrines which were once their chief glory ; but despite the English Reformation we still possess the shrine of St. Edward the Confessor *in situ*, much mutilated, behind the high altar of Westminster Abbey. And in the church of St. Sernin of Toulouse one may still see the elaborate arrangement of shrines constructed in the eleventh century round an eastern ambulatory to house those bodies of apostles which Charlemagne is said to have deposited on his return from Spain, and a crypt-full of other relics besides, beneath the high altar.⁴

I will only venture one more illustration. If we examine the history of some of the principal English churches, we find a

¹ *Magna vita Hugonis*, ed. J. Dimock (Rolls series), p. 317. His excuse and another episode of the same sort are recorded on the next page.

² E.g. *Inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury*, ed. J. W. Legg and W. H. St. John Hope (1902), pp. 29-40 ; *Gesta abbatum S. Albani* (Rolls series), iii. 539-544 ; J. B. Hurry, *Reading Abbey* (1901), 127-131 ; *Durham account rolls*, ed. J. T. Fowler (Surtees Soc.), ii. 425-440.

³ Suger, 'De rebus in administratione sua gestis', xxv in E. Panofsky, *Abbot Suger on the abbey church of St. Denis* (Princeton, 1946), p. 42.

⁴ These are not negligible. They include the head of St. Thomas Aquinas and (with very dubious credentials) the bodies of St. Edmund, king and martyr, and St. Gilbert of Sempringham.

re-building of the east end in the course of the thirteenth century. It happens a little earlier at Canterbury and then, soon after 1200, at Winchester and Rochester. A little later, we see this happening at Worcester, Ely, Durham, Fountains, Westminster. In the latter part of the century, St. Paul's of London, Lincoln and Hereford cathedrals and two great Benedictine churches, Chester and St. Albans, follow suit. In each place one object was evidently to provide a more worthy, magnificent, and spacious shrine for the principal relics. Access must be made easy for the devout. Space was needed, too, if the desire of the faithful to be buried *ad sanctos* were to be fulfilled. King John, it will be remembered, chose to be laid at rest at Worcester near to St. Wulfstan, while his successors sought for their mortal remains propinquity to the shrines of St. Edward or St. Thomas.¹

One feature of this cult points directly to the next part of my subject. It was early considered proper for altars (when-ever possible) to be sanctified by the presence of relics.² Gregory the Great instructed the missionaries in England to de-contaminate pagan temples, erect altars, and place relics there.³ The altar was an essential part of the church. The great cathedral and monastic communities consisted of clerics, and the liturgy developed in their churches demanded first and foremost ample room in the choir and opportunity for processions. Along with the elaboration of day and night offices went important eucharistic developments. The church building was, in a great measure, intended for the celebration of Mass; Mass was not to be celebrated outside consecrated churches and except at consecrated altars.⁴ The insistence that there must be relics about the altar meant that on this point, under the church's roof, were focused the doctrines and the liturgy connected with the saints and the eucharist. This was the first stage: a concentration of interest

¹ Cf. Suger's Life of Louis VI, c. xxxii (*Oeuvres complètes*, ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche (1867), pp. 148-149).

² Grabar, *op. cit.*, i. 38 and R. W. Muncey, *A hist. of the consecration of churches and churchyards* (1930), pp. 40-46. Decretum III de cons. dist. I c. 26 was interpreted in this sense.

³ *Councils*, ed. Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 37.

⁴ Decretum III de cons. dist. I c. 33.

on the high altar, with the shrine on the altar, or within it, or beneath it, or projecting eastward from the back of it.

The second stage is a diffusion of interest. The main shrine often becomes self-standing, in a special crypt or in a retrochoir or transept. That was the purpose of those extensions of English churches in the thirteenth century to which I have referred. But here we must also take into account the multiplication of Masses and its consequences. This dates from the earliest period of the Middle Ages. The cult of the Blessed Virgin Mary led to the celebrating of Masses additional to the Masses of the day. Other votive Masses were added, commemorative and expiatory ; above all, Masses for the dead, intended to redeem their souls from purgatory. This had the first consequence of causing more monks and clergy to become priests. St. Benedict was never ordained priest. Two centuries after his day the abbey of St. Gall apparently had only two or three priests in a community about fifty strong.¹ Finally, in 1311, the decree *Ne in agro* ensured that practically all monks would proceed to priesthood.² By that time monasteries had become, to use Coulton's words, 'great Mass-machines'.³ And the change was reflected in the design of their churches. From the sixth century onward more than one altar might sometimes be found in a church. The first church of Cluny cannot have had more than two or three altars ; the second church, built late in the tenth century had thirteen ;⁴ the third church, begun a century later, eventually provided at least twice as many.⁵ When Suger's church of St. Denis was consecrated in 1144 Mass was celebrated simultaneously at twenty altars. For the same reason, many churches of the Cistercian Order soon developed beyond their primitive simplicity. The first church of Pontigny, built soon after 1114, had one or two altars. Reconstruction completed by 1170 provided for chapels on all sides of the transept. The third and final stage was reached before 1210

¹ J. M. Clarke, *Abbey of St. Gall* (1926), p. 285.

² Clementin. III, 10, 1, para. 8.

³ G. C. Coulton, *Five centuries of religion*, i. 126.

⁴ *Med. studies pres. to Rose Graham* (1950), p. 46.

⁵ Rose Graham and A. W. Clapham, 'The monastery of Cluny 910-1155', *Archaeologia*, lxxx (1930), 143-178.

when, with thirteen chapels opening on to the eastern ambulatory, there were twenty-five chapels in the church.¹ This explains a feature of those great reconstructions of the east ends of English churches. The east end was not merely lengthened; it was expanded with a cluster of chapels growing out of the ambulatory round the shrine, and sometimes a second, eastern, transept was added, to contain more altars. This development was not, of course, confined to monasteries. Secular clergy likewise took on Mass-obligations. In all the greater churches of the Middle Ages, as well as many parish churches, votive Masses were daily said or sung. Chantries were founded to ensure perpetual commemoration of individuals; and where the chapels provided by the architects did not allow enough altars for the celebrant chantry-priests, narrow chapels were inserted into the choir or nave-arcade, and altars set against the pillars of the nave.

Thus specific doctrines connected with the saints and the Mass did much to determine the functions of the churches and their shape. Builders not unnaturally worked as a rule from east to west in the construction and reconstruction of churches; the nave mattered least and was often left unfinished. The main lines of the plan were fixed to a certain extent irrespective of architectural style.

The same theme might be developed regarding decoration; for in church the decorative arts, when they become representational, are devoted mainly to the iconography of saints. Quite apart from the influence worked by the cult of any one saint, the very development of main lines of pilgrim-traffic and the exchange of ideas along those routes had profound influence on the evolution of artistic styles. Leaving on one side this vast and fascinating topic,² I turn to consider the economic consequences of these doctrines, as they relate to church-building.

'The cultus of relics', wrote Baldwin Brown, 'gave medieval architects much to do and at the same time provided means for

¹ See M. Anselme Dimier, *Recueil de plans d'églises cisterciennes* (2 vols., Paris and N. D. d'Aiguebelle, 1949), i. 36-38.

² Cf. A. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque sculpture on the pilgrimage roads* (10 vols., Boston, 1923); E. Mâle, *L'art religieux au XII^e siècle* (1922), ch. vii; J. Bédier, *Les légendes épiques*, ii (2nd ed., 1917).

achieving the desired ends¹. The relics of an important saint were of financial value to their owner. The saint was forever living, exercising a decisive effect on the lives of those who sought his intercession by prayer, and visiting with affliction those who infringed his rights. The church which held his relics was his home. We find this notion expressed in the phraseology of deeds of gift. When a church was endowed in the early Middle Ages a saint was commonly named as the beneficiary or among the beneficiaries. To take two charters at random: between 1060 and 1087 Eude, lord of Blaison, gave an arpent of land to 'God and St. Aubin and his monks' at Angers;² about the years 1136-1138 Adeliz, wife of Gilbert Fitz Richard, and her children give land to St. Mary and St. Botulf of Thorney'.³

Miracles of healing and other wonders proclaimed the saint's sanctity; they were most often performed where his relics rested. Moreover, these sanctuaries had such virtue that the prayers poured forth there, and the Masses sung there, had particular efficacy. So they attracted pilgrims. Besides those pilgrims who went to shrines out of gratuitous piety, were many on whom the pilgrimage was enjoined as penance. I will cite one example only: in 1325, at Rochester,⁴ Simon Heyroun confessed to adultery, and his bishop ordered him for penance to go annually for seven years to St. Thomas of Canterbury (note the personification), and within the same period thrice to St. Thomas of Hereford, thrice to St. Edmund of Bury, thrice to St. Mary of Walsingham. He was also to feed one poor person every Friday. His partner in sin was sent on pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela.

¹ *Anglo-Saxon architecture*, 2nd ed. (1925), p. 183.

² *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de S. Aubin d'Angers*, ed. Bertrand de Broussillon (1903), i. 153.

³ *Facs. of Northants Charters*, ed. F. M. Stenton (Northants Rec. Soc., 1930), p. 52.

⁴ *Reg. Hamonis de Hethe ep. Roffensis*, ed. C. Johnson (Cant. and York Soc.), i. 200, cf. 201, 217, 224, 233. In 1275 the archbishop of York ordered a pilgrimage to the Holy Land as penance for adultery. *Reg. Walter Giffard, archbishop of York*, ed. W. Brown (Surtees Soc., 1904), p. 282. See also E. van Cauwenbergh *Les pèlerinages expiatoires et judiciaires dans le droit communal de la Belgique au moyen âge* (Louvain, 1922).

Not only is the economic aspect of this system obvious to us. Medieval churchmen were well aware of the financial implications.¹ Abbot Samson of Bury challenged the barons of the Exchequer to despoil St. Edmund's tomb for King Richard's ransom, and none dared. Thereafter, the abbot invested spare capital in a very precious crest for the shrine of the glorious martyr, for 'no man would dare to lay hands upon it'.² A little earlier than this the Winchester annalist reports that 'St. Barnabas first became notable at Hyde Abbey by the miracles wrought by God through his merits, and then that church began to be renovated and improved'.³ A century earlier a monk of Battle, who had been put in charge of a cell at Exeter, set himself to improve its position. He was at pains to extend as much as possible the fame of the relics by which the place was distinguished and thus acquired lands and churches and tithes in and around the city of Exeter.⁴ Bromholm Priory rose suddenly to prosperity after its reception of a piece of the true Cross, stolen from Constantinople in 1205; but that story is too well known to be repeated now.⁵ Relics were bought, borrowed, stolen, and manufactured. If they were not well enough known, their owners gave publicity to them and their miracles. The history of relics is full of faked relics and feigned miracles, for the opportunities for fraud were many and the inducement was immense. I shall not discuss this subject beyond observing that the getting of relics and the propaganda for them are often associated significantly with building operations.

When work on the west front of St. Albans was interrupted for lack of funds at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the abbot organized a preaching tour through many dioceses. 'He sent relics, and also a clerk named Amphibalus whom the Lord had raised from the dead after four days, by the merits of St. Alban and St. Amphibalus, so that he might bear ocular evidence

¹ Cf. three valuable chapters (vi-viii) in G. G. Coulton's *Five centuries of religion*, iii (1936).

² *Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond*, ed. H. E. Butler (1949), p. 97.

³ *Annales monastici* (Rolls series), ii. 62.

⁴ *Chron. mon. de Bello* (Anglia Christiana Soc., 1846), p. 32.

⁵ Recent accounts are by G. G. Coulton, *op. cit.*, iii. 90-92 and F. Wormald, 'The Rood of Bromholm', *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, i (1937), 31-45.

for the miracles of these saints', and in this way he accumulated a good deal of money (*non minimam pecuniam coacervavit*).¹ Preaching tours of this sort sometimes went far afield: we have the account of the canons of Laon who, in 1112-1113, took their relics overseas to gain funds for rebuilding their cathedral, and who went as far as Exeter.² A shorter tour, undertaken for the church of Xanten in 1487, cost 20 marks and yielded 382 marks for the fabric fund.³ Professor Wormald has lately remarked on the synchronizing of the forgeries by the monks of St. Martial of Limoges, designed to prove that St. Martial was an apostle, and the rebuilding of their church between 1017 and 1028. He observes: 'the promulgation of the cult of St. Martial as an apostle would be likely to prove not only glorious but profitable, since pilgrims and subscriptions would be likely to come from it'.⁴ He points out in passing how the discovery of the bones of King Arthur at Glastonbury (1191) coincided with the great rebuilding of that abbey.

I do not think that any medieval records which survive enable one to calculate just how much money accrued to any one church through the alms of pilgrims or other gifts and legacies prompted by devotion to the saints. Nor can we often say what proportion of this income was spent on the enlargement and adornment of the structure. There are, to be sure, many fabric accounts which are of utmost value for studying the organization and technique of building. There are also the charters and chronicles recording endowments and the accounts presented by custodians of shrines. Though these records are insufficient for accurate statistical analysis, they are worth attention. According to a statement of income drawn up at Mont St. Michel in 1338, a sixth of the abbey's income was derived from pilgrims.⁵ At St. Trond, in eastern Belgium, during the rule of Abbot Adelard II (1055-1082), the fame of

¹ *Gesta abbatum*, i. 219. The 'invention' of St. Amphibalus was fairly recent (1178, cf. *ibid.*, i. 192-193), but the saint is a wholly fictitious figure.

² V. Mortet, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'hist. de l'architecture*, i (1911), 319-321.

³ Cited, G. G. Coulton, *Art and the Reformation* (1928), p. 350.

⁴ F. Wormald, 'The Engl. saints in the Litany in Arundel MS. 60', *Analecta bollandiana*, lxiv (1946), 86.

⁵ L. Delisle, 'Enquête sur la fortune des établissements de l'Ordre de S. Benoît, en 1338', *Notices et extraits des MSS.*, xxxix (1916), 368, 372.

miracles worked at the tomb of St. Trond produced floods of pilgrims. They offered in enormous quantity not only money but livestock, linen, wax, and cheeses. 'In those days', says a later abbot of the house, 'the income of the altar far exceeded all the revenue then or now collected by the abbey'. The abbot spent a large part of these offerings on rebuilding the church; and the new church had a second transept and a spacious crypt.¹ Again, according to the chronicler of Gloucester Abbey, it was the offerings at the tomb of King Edward II which provided the funds for rebuilding the transept and modifying the choir in the middle of the fourteenth century; and had all the offerings gone to the fabric, they would (it was said) have sufficed to rebuild the whole church.² Some years ago, the late Canon C. E. Woodruff devoted a study to 'The financial aspect of the cult of St. Thomas of Canterbury'.³ Using the lengthy series of Treasurers' accounts, he was able to show that the monks received annual offerings between the years 1198 and 1206 amounting on average to £426 3s. 7d. The offerings at the two shrines of Becket averaged £349 2s. 6d. and the rest came from other altars. The Treasurer's receipts from all sources averaged £1,406 1s. 8d. a year; so that the martyr may be said to have produced almost exactly one quarter of the gross income. By the time of Chaucer offerings had increased in amount, though not perhaps enough to compensate for change in the value of money. Thereafter there was a steep decline in takings.

From late in the eleventh century, pilgrims had more inducement to visit certain churches because of the indulgences offered to visitors by ecclesiastical authority. The relaxation of thirty or forty days of penance was the usual spiritual reward for those who came and piously contributed to the needs of the church. An indulgence of this sort was granted by a papal legate in 1121 for those who visited Westminster Abbey, and prayed and made offerings, on the feast of the martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul.⁴ Nor were indulgences always restricted

¹ E. de Moreau, *op. cit.*, ii (1940), 251, 291.

² *Hist. monast. S. Petri Gloucestriae* (Rolls series), i. 46-47.

³ *Archaeologia Cantiana*, xliv (1932), 13-32.

⁴ *Papsturkunden in England*, ed. W. Holtzmann, I, ii (1931), 234-236. The authenticity of the indulgence is not altogether beyond doubt.

to visitors. In 1125 a papal legate, announcing that Bishop Urban of Llandaff had begun to rebuild his church from the foundations and would be unable to complete it without alms, confirmed an indulgence granted by the archbishop of Canterbury to all contributors and relaxed the penance of fourteen days in addition.¹

The idea of a church as the home of a saint, who rewards benefactors by intercession, appears from the terms of the charters of endowment which the churches received. Laymen who endowed churches expected a *quid pro quo*. That is elaborately expressed by the clerk who in the year 910 drafted for Duke William of Aquitaine the charter recording his foundation of Cluny. 'The ransom of a man's life are his riches', he says (quoting Proverbs xiii, 8), 'I will maintain at my own cost persons living together in the monastic profession, in the faith and hope that, if I cannot myself despise all earthly things, yet by maintaining those who do and whom I believe to be righteous in the eyes of God, I shall receive the recompense of the righteous.' The hope of buying salvation is expressed with more usual brevity in a charter, drawn up about the year 1200, now preserved in the John Rylands Library.² It begins :

To all Christ's faithful to whom this present writing shall come, Robert Marmion gives greeting in the Lord. Let it be known to you all that I, for the salvation of my soul and those of Philippa my wife and of all my ancestors and successors and for the release from my journey to Jerusalem (*pro absolutione itineris mei Ierosolimitani*), have granted to God and St. Mary of Barbery and the monks there serving God, to build and construct their Church, five hundred pounds of money of Angers . . .³

The general feeling that the chance of salvation was improved by such piety as this was not enough. People looked for the measured mitigation of penance expressed in indulgences or for some assurance that prayers and Masses would be said for their especial benefit, either for a period or in perpetuity.

¹ *Councils*, ed. A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, i. 318.

² J. R. L., Beaumont charter 43.

³ For Robert Marmion see *Dict. Nat. Biog.* s.v. He died in 1218; Philippa was his second wife. The Cistercian abbey of Barbery was in the diocese of Bayeux. The present charter also included lands in England, which seem to be exchanged for an earlier donation.

Donations were attracted by specific promises.¹ The development of Mass-obligations prepares us for finding innumerable transactions of this sort. The churches offer special prayers and Masses to those who help them with this world's goods. While many donations and legacies are simply for the general expenses of the churches or for the communities' food or clothing, some—like Robert Marmion's—are earmarked for building.

In particular, the general type of *fraternitas* offered from early times by churches to their benefactors took on the special form of a fraternity of the fabric to advance building operations. Dr. Rose Graham has lately called attention to the earliest known English example, established by Bishop Gilbert Foliot for the completion of St. Paul's Cathedral, about the years 1174-1175.² Here the priests of the diocese of London each undertook to 'sing thirty masses for members of the confraternity, fifteen for the living and fifteen for the dead. The cathedral chapter undertook every week to have two masses in St. Paul's, one for the living and one for the dead. Even if a member died in mortal sin, he should be buried in consecrated ground.' A dozen years later, Archbishop Baldwin proposed to build a church in honour of St. Thomas and ordained³ 'a fraternity throughout the province of Canterbury to last for seven years from this year of grace 1186. To all who enter this fraternity and send some donation annually for the said fabric or bequeath it at their death, we remit a third of their penance for those sins truly confessed for which they are doing seven years or more of penance; if their penance be less, we remit sixty days; let slight sins and those forgotten, and offences against parents short of violence, be included in the penance imposed for other sins. To those also who for penance have been excluded from church for a whole year, except for Lent, we grant free access to church. We add, moreover, that all members of the fraternity shall have christian burial unless they committed suicide or

¹ Dr. Georg Schreiber brings together a wealth of material about this under the heading 'Schenkungsmotive' in his recent work, *Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters* (Münster, 1948), pp. 99-125.

² 'An appeal about 1175 for the building fund of St. Paul's Cathedral Church', *Journal of the Brit. Archaeological Assoc.*, 3rd series, x (1945-1947), 73-76.

³ *Epistolae Cantuarienses* (Rolls series), pp. 8-9.

died excommunicate by name. And if a church lies under interdict when a parishioner who is a brother or sister of the fraternity dies, let the interdict be lifted until the brother or sister be buried, and let the bells be rung and the service said for the dead. And if a sister die in childbirth, let her be brought to church and solemnly given christian burial. Moreover we grant that all who shall have joined this fraternity shall participate in all the Masses, prayers, and observances for the departed¹ which occur in all the churches of the province of Canterbury; and we grant the benefit of this fraternity to their children under the age of fifteen years.'

What money these fraternities yielded we do not know, but when, in this period, St. Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, established a 'new general fraternity of the church of Lincoln' he collected (it was said) a thousand marks a year by this means for the building of the new cathedral.² Like the archbishop's fraternity, this one mitigated the severity of interdicts, and ensured Christian burial for those whose names were inscribed in the *liber fraternitatis*.³ A generation later, a reference to the services for deceased brethren and sisters of the fabric of Salisbury indicates pretty clearly that Bishop Richard Poore had instituted a fraternity to help the building of his new cathedral.⁴ A little later still, in 1230, we hear of a *confraria novi operis* at Osney Abbey.⁵ Not *all* the endowments which were applied to the building of churches were of this kind: free-will offerings granted in expectation of reward in Heaven; but in general it was so. I have been concerned with the forms of this inducement, and I shall not dwell on the various forms of gift.

¹ 'Observances for the departed': *beneficia*. For this meaning of the word, cf. 'De beneficiis fratrum quae fiunt post obitum alicuius fratris'. *Customary of St. Aug. Canterbury*, ed. E. M. Thompson (H. Bradshaw Soc. 1902), i. 351 and Schreiber, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-174.

² R. Coggeshall, *Chron. anglic.* (Rolls series), p. 111, and next note.

³ *Registrum antiquissimum of . . . Lincoln*, ii, ed. C. W. Foster (Linc. Rec. Soc. 1933), 86, where a letter of St. Hugh is wrongly attributed to Hugh de Wells.

⁴ Synodal Statutes of Richard Poore in Worcester Cath. MS. Q. 67, fo. 143 v. Langton granted an indulgence to those who should join the 'confraternitas ecclesie Sar' (*Acta of Stephen Langton*, ed. K. Major, Cant. and York Soc., 1950), p. 66.

⁵ *Cartulary of Osney Abbey*, i, ed. H E. Salter (Oxford Hist. Soc., 1929), 136. A later example is found at Lichfield in 1361. *Reg. of Wm. Stretton* (*Wm. Salt Archaeol. Soc.*, 1905), pp. 94-96.

The facts which I have laid before you justify us in treating the medieval cathedrals and monastic churches both as illustrations and products of the Catholic faith of the Middle Ages. (It is not, therefore, surprising that those which have come into the hands of Protestant communions in modern times should prove to be ill-adapted to their present uses.¹) These churches were deliberately shaped to modes of worship which demanded space and magnificence and mystery. The nearness of the saints and the recurrent miracle of the Mass were ideas adapted to various stages of comprehension, by minds crude or refined. The Catholic Church of the Middle Ages never declined to reduce theological doctrines of the most spiritual sort to material expression. The shrine, the altar, the chantry-chapel, not only emphasized beliefs concerning the Communion of Saints and Purgatory and vicarious salvation in their most popular forms; they positively encouraged them. Although the underlying doctrine was that of the Universal Church, devotion was concentrated on local and tangible objects. The calendar of saints and the liturgical year varied from place to place. The pious layman could turn to a saint whose human remains were present in his own church, whose spiritual presence was testified by local miracles, whose favour was bestowed specially on this locality or that class of people or gild-fraternity.² There was local pride in the prodigies connected with a shrine, and competition between rival establishments possessed of different relics (or occasionally claiming the possession of the same). Devotion was stimulated by the offer of specific recompense, a recompense all the more

¹ Cf. G. W. O. Addleshaw and Frederick Etchells, *The architectural setting of Anglican worship* (1948).

² It is not generally realized how common in the later Middle Ages was the veneration accorded to relics of uncanonized persons. For a discussion of what may be called 'popular canonization' see E. W. Kemp, *Canonization and authority in the Western Church* (1948), pp. 116-128. Cf. J. C. Russell, 'The canonization of opposition to the King in Angevin England', in *Anniversary essays in med. hist. by students of C. H. Haskins* (1929). Cf. cases recorded in *Hist. mon. Gloucestriae* (Rolls series), i. 32; *Annales monastici* (Rolls series), ii. 266; Coulton, *Five centuries*, i. 545-546; *Reg. of John de Grandisson, bishop of Exeter*, ed. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph, iii (1899), 1231-1234. For the votive wax figures and pilgrim's badge in honour of Edmund Lacey, bishop of Exeter, which were recently discovered in the cathedral, see *The Antiquaries Journal*, xxix (1949), 164-168.

urgently desired because of current teaching about hell-fire and the high proportion of the damned. One cannot but recognize that all these doctrines added together, and expressed with the force and even brutality which we find in the sermons and hagiography of the age, gave the clergy of a great church a powerful claim upon the people's alms. Along with the purely religious motive, the existence of which no one would deny, the lowest motive of worldly prudence encouraged the clergy to advertise the miracles performed at their shrines, to multiply the indulgences granted at their altars. The spirit of emulation made builders anxious to surpass neighbouring churches.¹

In other words, the clergy of the greater churches were impelled for reasons both good and bad to build magnificently, and generally they built beyond their means. That explains why it so often happened that the choir-altars were consecrated, long before the final dedication of a church, as soon as the choir was complete; and the dedication of the whole church was apparently permitted as soon as its walls were raised.² In the fine fifteenth-century Flemish service-book which is now Rylands Latin MS. 39, the feast *in dedicatione ecclesie* is illustrated by a delightful picture of a bishop proceeding round a church to anoint the consecration-crosses with chrism; either the nave or the choir (it is not clearly indicated) has only the beginnings of a roof, dominated by 'a huge pair of wheels for raising stones'.³ Maybe those who planned these buildings sometimes feared that the inflow of alms would diminish or dry up once the work was finished: the crane which stood for centuries on the unfinished south tower of Cologne Cathedral was a visible appeal for funds. Be that as it may, it was exceptional for a great church to be constructed by a single generation of men. More often it was the work of centuries. Some cathedrals (Cologne, Florence, Toulouse for example) were never completed in the Middle Ages. They may be taken to symbolize the unattained ideal of the medieval Church, seeking always to explain the immaterial by the material.

¹ Harvey, *The Gothic World*, p. 8.

² Cf. the first canon of the legatine Council of London, 1237: 'quae perfectis parietibus sunt constructae' (D. Wilkins, *Concilia Mag. Brit. et Hib.* (1737), i. 650).

³ M. R. James, *Catalogue of the Latin MSS.* (1921), i. 100, and ii. pl. 92.

SOME ASPECTS OF KINGSHIP IN THE SUMERIAN CITY AND KINGDOM OF UR

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THIS short article presents the results of an examination of a large body of material concerning kings of a particular area at a particular time. The area is the plain which stretches approximately from below Baghdad to the head of the Persian Gulf, which was not so far away then as it is now. The period is, approximately, 2070-1950 B.C. We call that area at that time "Sumer and Akkad". What we know of it is got partly from non-literary remains but chiefly from written documents, i.e. Royal Inscriptions, comparatively few in number, and the thousands of Records of Income and Expenditure which have been found at the cities of Lagash, Umma, Drehem, Nippur and at Ur, the seat of government of the five kings of the contemporary Third Dynasty of Ur, known as "Ur III". The evidence relating to kingship which these texts supply is, in respect of content and length of time, without parallel in any period, before or after Ur III, in ancient Mesopotamia. But it must be emphasised that it is evidence for kingship in one period and one area only, and must not be made the basis of theories as to kingship at other times and in other areas of the history of the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates.

Kingship ought not to be considered in isolation. It is but one element of community life. It is not its own explanation and justification. Like other social institutions, it is designed to meet some local situation. On a famous "King List" of Sumerian Kings it is said that "kingship came from heaven". If we ask why? we may have a clue to the answer in that other local belief that the gods made man to exploit the land for their benefit. Certainly the literary evidence, which we have in abundance from the 3rd millennium B.C., is almost entirely the record of such exploitation. Ur III documents afford us a

detailed picture of local communities *at work*, highly organised and specialised. They are records of social labour. They are not records of wars, and only by the way do they reveal the externals of the local religion.¹ They deal with fields and cereals, reeds and bricks, animals and their skins and fats, canals and boats, wool and weaving, wages and prices. The persons mentioned in the documents are almost exclusively those who are engaged in the labour or the direction of the labour needed to produce, manufacture, repair, transport and administer *things*. The conclusion seems to be imposed by the evidence : here we have a community, or a number of communities, primarily occupied, both physically and mentally, with the production mostly of necessities, rarely of luxuries.

To return to our question : why kings ? One answer consonant with the evidence is this : the king was primarily head of the local labour force in the service of the gods. The *raison d'être* of kings was primarily economic. Time and again the documents which record the king's actions show him as builder and restorer of temples, digger of canals, builder of walls. A stela shows Ur-Nammu, the first of the five kings of Ur III, carrying on his shoulder the tools with which he will lay the foundations of the ziggurat.² This same king made a canal, about 27 miles long, by drawing off water from the great "fisherman's marsh". He says he "made Ur to be watered". He built a temple because drought had made irrigation and navigation impossible.³ Kings call themselves "nourishers" of their city, and king Bur Sin is named *engar*, irrigator, of the national

¹ Why local scribes did not write down specifically religious matter, such as hymns, myths, rituals, we do not know. What needs to be asked is why they did write down, in such detail and with such precision of dating of day, month and year, the local income and expenditure of material goods, and, what is more, stored the records in labelled boxes. Why this impressive book-keeping and filing ? Because, it may be suggested here, living was precarious owing to flood, drought, disease ; so much so that local officials had, as we say, to "watch every penny" of local income and expenditure, so that gods and men might have a sufficiency from local produce. These thousands of small but detailed records are the monuments of that ancient social poverty, the struggle to make ends meet.

² See the frontispiece to *The Sumerians*, by C. Leonard Woolley.

³ *Royal Inscriptions from Ur*, nos. 284 and 50.

god, Enlil.¹ The texts make it clear that kings knew how dependent were the gods on canals. The king Ur-nammu records that he dug "the canal of Ur" which he calls "the canal of the food-offerings" of Enlil, the national deity.² Such evidence suggests that the piety of kings, and of the people subject to them, consisted primarily in social labour which would secure food for the deities. It was this labour, it seems, which justified both king and citizen in the eyes of the gods whose temples were the chief land-owners in every city. Sumerian society, at this time, was a mutual aid society of gods and men. By combining forces both could be fed.

The view here submitted is not, in itself, inconsistent with the opinion widely held that the kings of Ur III were "priests"—not a well defined term! But were they? and in what sense and with what function? Were they, and, if they were, to what extent were they associated with the act and place of public cult? The texts of Ur III never tell us of any priestly activity of any king. They inform us merely that the king supplied gods and temples with animals and material goods. But so did commoners, though, since they were poorer, not so often and not so richly. The answer to our question, therefore, is not to be found in royal gifts to the gods and their "houses". Do the titles by which kings are described and which are usually translated "priest", supply the evidence we seek? These titles are: *en*, *sangu*, *ME*. Of these words, *sangu*, at this period, does not mean "priest". It is the word used to describe a very important administrator of temple property, perhaps a kind of chief accountant.³ The word *en* may connote a religious function, but this is not certain.⁴ In any case it is not used of Ur III kings, except Ur-Nammu who is called the *en* of Uruk and the *lugal* (king) of Ur, which is not very illuminating. The

¹ Legrain, *Les Temps des Rois d'Ur*, no. 324.

² *Royal Inscriptions from Ur*, nos. 45, 46.

³ Schneider who has made an exhaustive study of this term as used on Ur III texts, sums up: "keinerlei spezifisch priesterliche Funktionen vom *sangu* werden berichtet, weder Opferhandlungen, noch öffentliche Gebete noch sonstige Zeremonien aller Art" (*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, vol. I, no. 2 (1947), p. 122).

⁴ In *Sumer*, vol. vii, No. 1 (1951), p. 59, M. Lambert translates *en* by "pontife". Why?

last of the three terms is *ME*. We read on a later, Larsa, text : " the *ME* who purifies the shrine of Eshébarra " .¹ And on Ur III texts the fourth king of Ur III, Gimil Sin,² is called *ME an-na*, the *ME* of the god Anu, and Ibi Sin³ is called *nir-gal ME-níg-nam-ma* which Gadd would translate " prince of sublime power ". Obviously there is not much to go on in these very scanty references of uncertain meaning. We can conclude that the evidence at our disposal does not justify us in describing any king of Ur III as " priest ". Kings, of course, had a concern for cult, but beyond building and repairing temples and providing, " bringing ", animals and produce for the deities, they appear to be no more " priests " than were the majority of their subjects. There is, in fact, a tradition regarding the greatest of Ur III kings, Shulgi, that he sinned by not performing the religious rites.⁴ This agrees with the contemporary evidence.⁵

It is customary to speak of the kings of Ur III as " gods " or as " divine ". So they described themselves and so they were regarded by their subjects. The evidence adduced in support of this view is as follows. The sign for deity is written before their names ; the names of the kings occur on lists of " offerings " together with the names of other deities ;⁶ the names of kings form part of many personal names ; the kings have feasts and shrines as deities have. This evidence is impressive but it must be taken together with other evidence of a negative sort. What is *not* said is also evidence towards understanding what the so-called " divinity " of kings implied.

First, we must distinguish between offerings, or rations, brought to the temples for gods and kings, and sacrifices. The most important of the latter is the sacrifice called *zur;-ra* and

¹ CT. xxxvi, pl. 3. See also Contenau, *La Magie*, p. 105 f. Others would translate *ME* by " libator ".
² *Yale Oriental Series*, I, no. 20.

³ *Royal Inscriptions from Ur*, no. 289, 35.

⁴ *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Bd. 42 (1934), p. 53, lines 30-31.

⁵ Schneider is of the same opinion : Die Vornahme von Kulthandlungen in ihrer engsten Bedeutung kam nur den verschiedenen Klassen von Priestern zu ; der König war nicht dazu berechtigt " (*Analecta Orientalia* 45-46, p. 41).

⁶ Note that there is no record of " offerings " to Bur Sin or Gimil Sin on Lagash texts, none to Ibi Sin outside Ur, and none to Shulgi, Bur Sin or Gimil Sin at Ur.

níg-zur-ra. The cuneiform sign looks like a dish in which there is grain. Its Semitic equivalent means "to sacrifice" (*naqū*) or "to pray" (*ḡarābu*) or "prayer" (*ikribu*), possibly because prayer accompanied the sacrifice. Another sacrificial term is *níg-gish-tag-ga*, a thing for slaughter. It is significant that nowhere is it recorded that either of these kinds of sacrifice was ever made to the kings, though they are both made to heavenly beings, and the king himself provides those beings with such sacrificial material. If, as it seems reasonable to argue, the most reliable test of divinity is not words or titles but action vis-à-vis the deity, then the omission of these sacrifices in what is called "the cult of the kings" is of the first importance.

Next, if *en* and *ME* are taken as priestly functionaries, then we never find any *en* or *ME* of kings, nor any *qashudu*, libator (?), whereas these functionaries are assigned to recognised deities.¹

What is even more difficult to reconcile with deity is the fact that kings made presents to deities and built them temples "for the king's own life", which can only mean for his preservation. Mortality was their lot, and after death they needed to be supplied with "offerings". In this they were like to their subjects but unlike their gods.²

It is against this background of practice that we must set the high-sounding titles used by the kings themselves or their subjects, such as "god of his land".³ They are not to be taken literally.

¹ The *qashudu* was an important official at Ur, and servant of the *en* of god Nannar (see Legrain, *Business Documents of Ur*, Catalogue to Text no. 155).

² To quote only texts from the capital city Ur, residence of kings, and therefore of particular importance, see *Royal Inscriptions from Ur*; for Ur Nammu, nos. 32, 34, 49; for Shulgi, no. 52; for Bur Sin, no. 67, and no. 71 says: "the days of Bur Sin shall be prolonged with it", i.e. the house *dublalmah* which Bur Sin built; for Gimil Sin, *Yale Bab. Texts*, I, no. 20. Votive offerings by others "for the king's Life", *Royal Inscriptions from Ur*, nos. 48, 54, 85.

³ Used of Shulgi on an Ur text (no. 54) and one found at Susa (*Die Sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, p. 194, y): of Bur Sin (CT. xxxvi, no. 114684); of Ibi Sin, *Royal Inscriptions from Ur*, nos. 86, 88, 96, on which Ibi Sin so styles himself, and is so styled by "his servant" the patesi of Nippur, no. 89, but on other texts his "servants" do not so style him, e.g. Ur texts nos. 90-93, 95. The patesi of Ur calls Gimil Sin "his god" (*Die sum. ü. akk. K.*, p. 200, top). It is noteworthy that on seals found at Ur, Ibi Sin only is styled "god of his land", Legrain, *Business Documents from Ur*, nos. 41, 45, 52, 252, 254, 276, 1157, but on seals found in other cities none of the Ur III kings is so called.

We do not know in what circumstances or at what ceremony the title "god" (unless the sign means no more than "heavenly") was conferred on the king. A single text mentions Gimil Sin in the life of his predecessor, Bur Sin, and the name is written *without* the sign for deity.¹ It is remarkable that during the early days of the new reign texts from cities other than Ur do not date the first year of the reigns of Bur Sin, Gimil Sin and Ibi Sin by the usual formula "the year when the divine Bur Sin etc. became king", but by the formula "the year after" the event recorded in the last date formula of the previous king. But at Ur tablets dated in the first month of the new reign always bear the formula: the year when the divine Gimil Sin/Ibi Sin became king.² It would therefore seem that in the capital city the sign for deity was written before the king's name from the very beginning of his reign, and in other cities not until later, possibly only after authorisation from the capital.

It is not clear what precisely Shulgi meant when he called the goddess of Ur, Ningal, his "mother",³ or Bur Sin when he called himself the beloved son of Nannar, the god of Ur,⁴ or Gimil Sin when he called the god Shara his "father". When, shortly before Ur III, Gudea of Lagash says that he is the "child born of" the goddess Gatumdug⁵ the verb used is that used also to express the making of a statue. So it may well be that the phrases used by the kings of Ur III which we have quoted mean no more than that the deities have made the king what he is, which is what earlier rulers were fond of stating in greater detail. But, whatever their precise meaning, all such titles and the beliefs associated with them gave to society a sanctified order personified in the king beloved by the gods.

The purpose of this article has been to convey something of what the contemporary texts reveal concerning the kings of Ur III. It may be that the kings did in fact all sorts of things

¹ Keiser, *Selected Temple Documents*, no. 246, 33, 6666.

² For Gimil Sin, Legrain, *Business Documents from Ur*, nos. 26, 75; for Ibi Sin, *ibid.*, nos. 361, 950, 1132. For texts from other sites, Schneider *Die Zeitbestimmungen* (An. Or. 13 (1936), pp. 24 ff.).

³ Text found at Susa, *Die sum. und akkad. K.*, p. 194 f.

⁴ CT. xxxv, 1 R.

⁵ *Die sum. und akkad. K.*, p. 66 b, 2, 16-17.

which were religious and that they were indeed, as common opinion would have it, before all else, "priests". But, it must be repeated, that there is no evidence whatsoever for such a view on the documents we possess at present.¹

¹ Old Testament students who have taken over the opinion that the kings were gods, are not to be blamed. Engnell quotes an acknowledged authority as saying: "However it may be explained, the difficult fact remains that the apotheosis of kings clearly replaced in importance the worship of the great gods for three centuries under the kings of Ur and Isin". In this article we have not been concerned with Isin, but we can say with confidence that, so far as Ur is concerned, there is no truth whatever in the statement quoted by Engnell in his *Studies in Divine Kingship*, p. 30.

FR. GEORGIUS DE HUNGARIA, O.P.,
AND THE *TRACTATUS DE MORIBUS
CONDICIONIBUS ET NEQUICIA TURCORUM*.

By J. A. B. PALMER, B.A.

THE *Tractatus de Moribus Condicionibus et Nequicia Turcorum* is the most valuable account of life and institutions among the Ottoman Turks in the fifteenth century which we possess, superior in that connexion to the better known works of Schiltberger and Bertrandon de la Brocquière. It records the experiences of an educated and intelligent native of the province of Siebenbürgen who was captured by the Turks in 1438 and remained as a slave in the Turkish dominions until 1458, when he regained his liberty, returned to Christian realms, and eventually entered the Dominican Order. His account may not have been written until some twenty years after the end of his captivity; this interval, however, did not cloud the freshness or accuracy of his recollections. Between 1480 and 1550 the book was printed in numerous Latin editions with slightly varying titles, and in 1530-1531 a number of German versions of it were put out, of which there were further examples in 1560 and 1596; at that period, either in its own editions or by way of quotations in other writers, it was an important source of European knowledge of the Ottoman Turks. The identity of the author is not recorded in any of the editions and was not known even to some of the earliest users of the work. There is, however, as we shall see, strong evidence establishing that his name in religion was Frater Georgius de Hungaria. This name remained unknown to many writers who quote from the work, and variously describe the author as *Septemcastrensis Captivus* or *Monachus*, or *Mühlenbacher* (from the place where he was captured). This has given rise to confusion regarding his identity, which was aggravated by the resemblance of the name Georgius de Hungaria and of the title of the work to those of the better known but much later writer

Bartholomaeus Georgevicz, who likewise is counted as from Hungary ; indeed, the works of these two different writers have sometimes been confused in library catalogues. In a work by F. W. Hasluck, posthumously published in 1929, fresh attention was drawn to the *Tractatus* but with only a very limited indication of its importance and an inadequate note on the authorship.¹ In 1939 an article on the subject was published over the signature of Florio Banfi in the periodical *Memorie Domenicane* at Florence.² This was a far fuller study than previously existed but it does not exhaust all the points which arise and in some particulars the author seems to have gone astray ; moreover, the review in which this article appeared is difficult of access in England. I offer, therefore, in these pages a fuller study than Banfi's, dealing with the author's biography and identity, with the contents of the *Tractatus*, with the use of it by later writers, and with the bibliography of its editions and versions.

The biographical details which we possess concerning the author are mainly found in the book itself, particularly in the sections entitled *Prologus* and *Ratio Testimonialis*.

He was a native of the Siebenbürgen. An old manuscript gloss is recorded which gives his birthplace as Ramocz (Romocz, Rumes) in the Bröserstuhl, and this is possibly true. He was born c. 1422, for he tells us that at the time of his capture by the Turks he was aged about 16 years and was a student at (Szász) Sebes-Mühlenbach. Banfi has pointed out that the only school there at that date was a Dominican institution and this no doubt accounts for his ultimately joining the Order of Preachers.³ Sebes was captured by a Turkish raiding force in August, 1438 ; the author himself says the event occurred after the death of the Emperor Sigismund, which happened in 1437, but then, evidently by a slip of memory, he dates his

¹ F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, II, pp. 494 ff.

² Florio Banfi, *Fra Giorgio di Settecastelli, O.P.* in *Memorie Domenicane* (Firenze, Convento S. Maria Novella), May-June, 1939, pp. 130-142 ; July-October, 1939, pp. 202-210. I am indebted for access to this article to the kindness of Father Thomas Kaeppli, O.P., head of the Istituto Storico Domenicano at S. Sabina in Rome.

³ Banfi, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

capture in 1436.¹ He remained in captivity in Turkey until 1458. Sold to the slave-merchants accompanying the army, he was re-sold in Adrianople, shipped to Burgama (Pergamum), and sold to a farmer. He effected eight escapes, of which the last five were collusive, i.e. with the aid of Christian slave-dealers who re-sold the escaping slave in a distant part of the country and after making sufficient profit finally assisted him to return home. In this way the author returned to Christian realms in 1458.

In the *Ratio Testimonialis* he mentions his *sacerdotium*, and he also refers in Cap. xxi to his hearing confessions, so that we can infer his ordination as a priest. In Cap. xvii of his work he mentions the conversion of infidels *sicut legitur de sancto Vincentio ordinis nostri qui plures saracenorum converterit*, a clear reference to Saint Vincent Ferrer; it follows that the author joined the Order of Preachers. He seems to have composed his book some considerable time after his escape. He says in the *Prohemium* that he is writing "in old age" (*me senem*), which seems to indicate a date nearer 1480 than 1470. He refers in Cap. xxi to the dispatch of legates *in primis annis Sixti Quarti*, which Banfi has correctly identified as a reference to the naval expedition under Cardinal Oliviero Carafa in 1472.² Since this event is regarded by the author as already some time past (*in primis annis*), he must be writing nearer 1480 than 1470.

In the *Prohemium*, when referring to his own advanced age, he gives as his reason for writing, the desire to instruct others who may become captives and also to record his recollections for his own use if captured again; it is, therefore, possible that he actually wrote in Siebenbürgen or Hungary and not in Rome, and that when he came to Rome in the latter part of the decade 1470-1480 he brought his manuscript with him.

¹ Fr. Bartholomaeus de Jano, O.F.M., *Epistola de crudelitate Turcarum*, Migne, P.G., 158, coll. 1055-1067, writing from Constantinople in December, 1438, describes a raid into Siebenbürgen (*Septemsolia*) in August of that year and another into the country of the *Siculi* (Szekels) further east in September, and mentions a report of a third in October. The Wall-Chronicle of Kronstadt gives the capture of Sebes in 1438: Schwandtner, *Script. rer. Hung.*, Tom. I, p. 886.

² Banfi, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

There is one other piece of independent evidence which may, I think, be adduced in support of the view that the author was not in Rome much before 1480.

There is another almost contemporary *Tractatus* emanating from Dominican circles known by the title *Tractatus quidam de Turcis prout ad praesens ecclesia ab eis affligitur collectus diligenti discussione Scripturarum a quibusdam fratribus predicatorum ordinis, etc.*¹ This is a discussion of prophecies (especially those of St. Methodius) in relation to the Turkish menace. The text informs us that it was composed in 1474; it was printed in that year in Rome by Schurener de Bopardia, and must be presumed to have been composed there. Almost the only piece of historical information contained in it is that the authors, being uncertain of the date when the wars with the Turks had commenced in the reign of Murad II, caused enquiry to be made in 1472 by one of their brethren in Győr (Raab) from the *frater carnalis* of Mehmed II. As Mehmed II murdered his only surviving brother on his accession, this personage appears to be an impostor and his answer to the enquiry was as vague as might be expected. The point, however, is that if the author of the *Tractatus de Moribus* had been in a Dominican convent in Rome as early as 1474, he could have answered this question almost from personal experience. One cannot believe he was in Rome when the *Tractatus quidam* was composed.

The evidence for the identity or name of the author (at least in religion) consists of the following :

Bernardus de Lutzemburgo, also a Dominican, who spent most of his career in Cologne, where the *Tractatus de Moribus* was twice printed in his lifetime, writes as follows in his *Catalogus Haereticorum*, 2nd edition, Cologne, 1523 (the passage is *not* in the *editio princeps* of 1522), *Lib. II, s.v. Mahometus : Et Iohan de Turrecremata fecit tractatum contra Mahometum*,

¹ There are three editions, Rome (Schurener de Bopardia) 1474 (?), Hain 15680; Nürnberg (Anton Koberger) 1475 (?), Hain 15679; and Nürnberg (Conrad Zeninger) 1481 (?), Hain 15681. The work is erroneously placed by Quétif-Echard in the fourteenth century: *Script. Ord. Predic.*, Vol. I, pp. 475-476. I learn by the courtesy of the State Librarian in Leipzig that the Leipzig volume mentioned by Quétif-Echard is a copy of Hain 15681.

similiter Frater Georgius de Ungaria ordinis nostri fecit librum de ritibus Turcorum continentem 23 capite. Romae habetur super Minervam. The title of the work given by Bernardus does not exactly correspond to that of any of the editions of the *Tractatus*, but it resembles the titles of the two Cologne editions; as we shall see, the number of chapters is correct for the actually numbered chapters, omitting the unnumbered sections.

The British Museum copy of the *editio princeps* of the *Tractatus* contains a manuscript gloss, added at the end of the *Incipit*, which (with abbreviations expanded) reads as follows: *Editum per fratrem Georgium de Ungaria ordinis predicatorum qui obiit Romae et claret miraculis in ecclesia S. Marie supra Minervam.* By the courtesy of the authorities of the British Museum I am informed that this gloss is in an Italian humanistic hand of the early sixteenth century, so that it is contemporary with the statement of Bernardus de Lutzemburgo.

The foregoing evidence has been known for some time, but through the kindness of Fr. Thomas Kaeppli, O.P., and Fr. Angelicus Iszak, O.P., I am able to draw attention to a fresh piece of evidence which escaped even Banfi's notice in 1939. This is nothing less than a reference in the chronicle of Fr. Sebastiani de Olmeda, O.P., to the death and burial of Fr. Georgius de Hungaria. This refers to Fr. Georgius as one of those *viri vitae sanctimonia et ingenii acrimonia praecelsi* who were found in the Order of Preachers under Vincenzo Bandello, Master-General from the 30th May, 1501, to the 27th August, 1506. The date of the death of Fr. Georgius is given and proves to be the 3rd July, 1502, when he would have been 80 years of age. His body was exposed for three days in the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva *cum maxima populi frequentia*, which accords with the words of the British Museum gloss *claret miraculis*. He was buried near *Joannes de Foessulis (Fesulis)*, who is no other than Fra Angelico; the painter's tomb in S. Maria sopra Minerva has merited preservation, our author's has undeservedly been lost.¹

¹ Father Sebastiani de Olmeda, O.P., *Chronica Ord. Praedic. ab initio Ordinis usque ad annum 1550 et ultra, nunc primo edita cura M. Canal Gomez O.P. (Ex Analectis Sac. Ord. Praed. Ann. 41-43)*, 1936, Roma, p. 183, where we read

The evidence as to authorship derived from Bernardus de Lutzemburgo and the British Museum gloss is much strengthened when it is thus shown, by Olmeda's chronicle, to date within about twenty years of the death of Fr. Georgius. The terms, moreover, in which Olmeda speaks of Fr. Georgius make of him a much less shadowy figure than he had otherwise been and accord well with Bernardus and the British Museum gloss. One is inclined to hold that there is irrefragable evidence that Fr. Georgius de Hungaria was the author of the *Tractatus*.

Yet there remains to be mentioned one record which leaves a shadow of doubt in one's mind. F. Toldy, the historian of Hungarian literature, distinguishes between a writer whom he calls the *Anonymous of Szászsebes* and a writer whom he calls *Magyar Györgyi* (*Georgius Ungarus*, as his translator Kolbenheyer puts it). According to Toldy, this Anonymous was the author of the *Tractatus* and Georgius Ungarus was the author of a book *De ritibus Turcarum* [sic]. As regards the *Tractatus*, Toldy refers to it under the title *Tractatus de Ritu Moribus Nequitia et Multiplicatione Turcorum*, which is really the title of the fourth Latin edition of 1508, as will be shown below. Of this, he had seen a copy which he correctly says is *sine loco et anno*, but which he dates (wrongly as to that edition) between 1478-1481. He adds that the book was reprinted at Paris in 1511, i.e. the sixth Latin edition, of which there is a copy in the University Library there, and at Basel in 1543, i.e. the tenth Latin edition. As to Georgius Ungarus and the *De ritibus Turcarum*, he says that the work existed in manuscript in *Coll. S. Mariae ad Minervam*. It looks as if Toldy had really seen the copies of the *Tractatus* which he mentions. Did he also see the *De ritibus Turcarum*? Toldy obtained this particular piece of

as follows: *Sub Vincentio denique florere in Ordine viri vitae sanctimonia et ingenii acrimonia praecelesi . . . inter quos non silentio praetereundus existit Georgius de Hungaria qui Romae v. Nonis Junii migrans, secundo Vincentii anno, cum maxima populi frequentia per triduum insepultus mansit, corruscantibus signis, intra ecclesiam Minervae juxta Joannem de Foessulis conditus.* Fr. Thomas Kaeppli explains as follows: there are only IV Nones in June and Junii is an error in the MS. XIV 26, f. iii r, from which the printed text is taken: another MS. XIV 27, f. 92 r, reads *Julii*, which must be correct: *Vincentius* is Vincenzo Bandello: thus the date is 3rd July, 1502.

information between 1852 and 1862, the dates of the second and third editions of his work, in the latter of which it first appears. The library of S. Maria sopra Minerva remained intact until the seizure of Rome in 1870. It was then scattered and the MS. has now disappeared. The possibility remains that Toldy saw the MS. and found that it was not the same work as the *Tractatus*. It would even then be possible that Fr. Georgius wrote both books. It seems a pity, almost, to raise this doubt when the contemporary evidence is to all appearances so strong, but it would not be right to ignore entirely a statement by one who may have been the last outsider actually to see the Minerva MS.¹

Before leaving the problem of authorship, one further question may be asked. Was Fr. Georgius by origin a Saxon or a Hungarian? No certain answer is perhaps possible. Local historians of the Siebenbürger Saxons hold him to be a Saxon. Banfi, though a Hungarian, agrees with them, but on the insufficient grounds that he calls his native district *Septem-castra* instead of *Transilvania* and that he spells Sebes in the German manner Schebesch.² As to these arguments, it is true that Hungarian writers tend to use the name Transilvania, but as a rule in a wider sense and this argument is inconclusive; as to Schebesch, he gives the Hungarian name first and the German name (Mühlenbach) second, instead of *vice versa* as one might have expected from a Saxon, while as to the spelling employed in that case, regard must also be had to his system of spelling of the many Turkish words in the text, including the *Duo Sermones* or Turkish poems mentioned below.

This system was described by K. Foy, in his philological study of the Turkish poems, words and phrases in the *Tractatus*, as "confused, arbitrary and surprising". That, however, is

¹ The references are F. Toldy, *A magyar nemzeti irodalom története*, 3rd edition, 1862, Vol. II, p. 57 and the German translation by M. Kolbenheyer under the title *Geschichte der ungrischen Literatur im Mittelalter*, 1865, p. 217. As mentioned in the text, the passage is not in Toldy's 2nd edition of 1852 and first appears in his 3rd edition of 1862. Kolbenheyer in his German translation makes a mistake and gives Schässburg (Segesvár) instead of Mühlenbach (Szászsebes), but Toldy gives the latter name correctly in Hungarian. Toldy also briefly mentions this Anonymous in connexion with the school at Szászsebes (*op. cit.*, 2nd edn., Vol. I, p. 151).

² Banfi, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

unjust, because Foy does not seem to have realised that the printed text is full of undoubted misprints and that in the author's manuscript the spelling of Turkish words was certainly consistent. Incidentally, the failure to allow for or to amend correctly these misprints has occasionally led Foy into errors of interpretation. Foy goes on to say that the essential foundation of the system is German, and points to the frequent use of *sch* and *tsch* for English *sh* and *ch*: he admits, however, that English *sh* is sometimes represented by *s* or by *ss*, which is Hungarian usage. Most remarkable of all is that the ordinary *s* sound is usually represented in Turkish words by *cz*, which is, as Foy remarks, *vom Standpunkte der deutschen Schrift befremdlich*. It is surely Hungarian, for *cz* (or *c*) in Hungarian represents a sibilant transcribed in English as *ts*, which is appropriate here. The author may have been bi-lingual in Hungarian and German but his choice of *cz* for *s* is surely so distinctively Hungarian as to incline the balance in favour of Hungarian rather than German origin.¹

Finally, I would note that neither the author nor the work is mentioned by Sigismundus Ferrarius in the *Hist. Prov. Hung. Ord. Predic.*, published in 1637. It seems, moreover, to have been customary in the Order to distinguish individuals by *cognomina* derived, as Quétif-Echard say in regard to our author, from their native country or their province of the Order. It is therefore possible to find in Dominican records a number of persons bearing the name *Georgius de Hungaria*.² On the

¹ K. Foy, *Die ältesten osmanischen Transcriptionstexte in gothischen Lettern*, in *Mittheil. des Seminar für orient. Spr.*, Berlin, Vol. IV, 1901, pp. 231-277; Vol. V, 1902, pp. 233-293. As examples of the Hungarian *s* (*sh*) one can point to *Mentesse* (*Menteshe*), *tamsmani* (misprint for *talisman*, i.e. *danishmend*), *passa* (*pasha*). Examples of the *cz* (*s*) are *czolaclar* (*solaklar*), *czubaschi* (*subashi*) *erczullah* (*al-rasulu'llahi*), *czofilar* (*sufiler*), *czilar aitmach* (misprint for *czihar aitmach*, i.e. *zikh aitmak*), *czunetsz* (*sünnetsiz*). The most remarkable misprint is the word *derwishler* which is only once printed (Cap. xvii) *derwishler* as the author certainly wrote it and elsewhere is always misprinted *dermschler*. A misprint which misled Foy is *czilar aitmach* (see above), where he took the misprinted letter to be 'r' for 't' and made *czilat* (as he read) into *şalât*, instead of correcting 'l' to 'k' (or possibly 'c') and reading *czikar* = *zikh*.

² See for instance E. Veress, *Monumenta Hungariae Italica III: Matricula et Acta Hungarorum in Universitatibus Italiae studentium 1221-1864*, Budapest, 1941, pp. 88-89.

other hand, *Magister Georgius de Hungaria*, a writer on Mathematics at the end of the fifteenth century, is not a Dominican and has nothing to do with the author of the *Tractatus*.¹ The Dominican Friar styled B. Giovanni Unghero is Fr. Johannes Teutonicus, Master-General of the Order from 1241-1252.²

I have referred in the above account of the biographical data to portions of the *Tractatus* and turn now to describe its contents more fully.

Originally, the book consisted of the following sections : (i) *Prohemium*, (ii) *Prologus*, (iii) 23 numbered *capita* or chapters, with title headings, (iv) *Ratio Testimonialis*, (v) *Duo Sermones in vulgari Turchorum*, (vi) *Interpretatio Sermonum Predictorum in Latino*, (vii) *Opinio Abbatis Joachim de Secta Mechometi*. The *Duo Sermones* are two Turkish poems which the translators of the German versions convert into *Zwo Predigt*. The *Opinio Abbatis Joachim* is, of course, from Joachim of Flora, from whom the author makes quite a number of quotations ; apart from that, his quotations are few and come from Scripture or from Saint Augustine.³

In the edition of 1508 (Latin No. 4 below) there was added at the end of the above sub-divisions a section on Christian sects, *De decem nationibus Christianorum*, which then appears in all the subsequent Latin editions or German versions. This section is borrowed from the *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum* of Johannes de Hees. The British Museum copy of the edition of 1500 (Latin No. 3 below) has, curiously enough, some MS. notes on the title page, described in the British Museum *Catalogue of Early Printed Books* as an " old list of contents " ; these include the work of Johannes de Hees from which in the next

¹ He belonged to the Canons of Schoonhoven in the Netherlands. See C. v. Szily und Aug. Heller, *Die Arithmetik des Magisters Georgius de Hungaria aus dem Jahre 1499*, in *Math. und Naturw. Ber. aus Ungarn*, Bd. XII, 1894, Berlin and Budapest.

² This personage is stated by Armellini, *Le Chiese di Roma*, 1942, Vol. I, p. 596, to be depicted in a picture in the cloister of S. Maria sopra Minerva. He is called Unghero because once bishop of Diacovar in Bosnia and is given the title of Beatus by Dominican writers. I owe this information again to Father Thomas Kaeppli, O.P.

³ For reasons of space I do not give a list of the headings of the 23 *capite* ; such a list is given by Banfi, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-135.

edition of 1508 a section was borrowed and also the work of Victor de Carben which was combined with the *Tractatus* in the Paris edition of 1511.¹

The *Tractatus* is the work of a religious and, as mentioned already, the author intended it as an aide-mémoire for himself and others exposed to the physical, but still more to the spiritual, dangers of captivity among non-Christians. It is only to be expected that quite considerable portions of it should be taken up with lamentations over the fate of captives and apostates or with religious disquisition. These portions are not without appeal and even those who do not share the author's faith might not remain quite unmoved by them, for they are written with much sincerity and also simplicity—*sermo barbarus*, Gessner calls the style, but at least it is lively and unaffected. Apart from this, there is much in the book which is of very great value for students of early Ottoman history. I propose to note the principal matters of this description.

In the *Prologus* the author gives a full description of the capture of Sebes by the Ottoman forces. Fr. Georgius states that the *dux Valachorum* accompanied this expedition and that he persuaded the citizens to make terms, under which the notables would accompany him to Wallachia and remain there or return as they chose, while the mass of the people would go with the Ottomans into Ottoman territory and would there receive lands, and could remain there in peace or return as they wished. These terms were evidently intended to win over the notables by giving them a reasonable certainty of return (perhaps subject to ransom), as the Christian *dux Valachorum* would have them in charge, while the mass of the inhabitants, once on Turkish soil, would be left at their captors' mercy; the arrangement illustrates the perpetual "man-hunger" of the Ottomans.

¹ The last item in the list, in a later hand, is *Revelaciones Methodii*, which might possibly mean the *Tractatus quidam*. On the first page of one of the British Museum copies of the latter (Hain 15679) are scrawled the words *Revelaciones de Turcis Methodii martyris* (abbreviated); the B.M. *Catalogue of Early Printed Books* regards this as a mistaken reference to Walter Aytinger's later printed book, but in fact the *Tractatus quidam* is so very largely taken up with the prophecies of S. Methodius that these words could serve equally well as a note of contents and even a short title for the *Tractatus quidam*.

The terms were accepted by all but a handful, who, led by a certain noble and his brother, barricaded themselves in a tower during the night; the author was among these. The Turks ultimately set fire to the tower and, when it collapsed, dragged the survivors, including our author, from the smoking ruins, and he thus passed into captivity.

In Cap. i he gives a very remarkable account of the origin of the Ottoman power. He says that about the year 1280 the *Soldanus Magnus* (i.e. the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt) invaded the East (*Oriens*) and conquered it. He then divided it into seven parts, which he conferred, with hereditary rights, on seven princes, Othmanbeg, Ermenbeg, Germenbeg, Czarchanbeg, Andinbeg, Mentesebeg, and Karamanbeg. By degrees the Othmanbeg (Osman and his successors) overcame the others and absorbed their territories, except the Karamanbeg; the latter still in the author's time exists, and unless at peace with him the Othmanbeg dare not make war elsewhere. The former territories of these princes still retained their names, as Othmaneli, Ermeneli, Germeneli, etc. Now, in the latter part of the thirteenth century the later Seljuks of Rum had fallen under Mongol influence, and were under the immediate domination of a powerful vice-regent known as Muin-ud-din Suleiman Parwana (Pervane). In 1277 Baibars, the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt, invaded Asia Minor and captured Kaisariye; he soon retired but the event was an important incident in the final extinction of the Seljuk dynasty of Rum. Our author is clearly referring to this expedition of Baibars. Shortly afterwards the Seljuks did finally disappear, and by about 1280 or soon after a number of principdoms were emerging in Asia Minor, of which the author correctly (misprints apart) gives the names of six, Othman, Germian, Saruhan, Aidin, Monteshe, and Karaman; the seventh, Ermen, may perhaps also be a misprint for Ertena.

In Cap. viii there is a very important description of the Janissaries, spelt *Gingitscheri* by the author. He refers to their recruitment from prisoners of war and to their use of a peculiar white cap, which is confined to those attached to the Sultan's court or person. In these respects, this account exactly confirms

what is stated in the earliest Turkish sources (certain fifteenth-century chronicles embodying fourteenth-century material) in regard to the origin of the Janissaries and their head-dress.

Still more important is the fact that Fr. Georgius mentions the levy of Christian children, usually called the *devshirme*, as also in his time a regular mode of recruitment. Scholars now generally are agreed that the *devshirme* was not part of the original institution of the Janissaries, when these were created in the fourteenth century. It is not mentioned in any Turkish source earlier than the *Hesht Bihisht* of Idris-al-Bitlisi, composed in the first decade of the sixteenth century. It is, however, mentioned by Bartholomaeus de Jano as newly instituted in 1438 and it was probably actually first introduced in that year.¹ Bartholomaeus does not indicate that it was intended to be repeated and in another letter written in February, 1443, he does not mention it.² The statement of Fr. Georgius is therefore our real evidence for the fact that after its introduction in 1438 the *devshirme* did become forthwith an established institution.

Fr. Georgius further gives the original periodicity of the *devshirme* as five years, the earliest and best evidence on this point. He also states that the levy was taken from the Christian inhabitants of towns, etc. under the direct dominion of the Sultan and not of other lords. This information is important in its bearing (which I cannot here discuss) on the juridical basis found for an institution which is contrary to the sacred law of Islam.

Such are the points of outstanding historical interest in the *Tractatus*, but there are others to which a very brief reference may be made. Cap. v contains a lengthy description of a force called by the author a *particularis exercitus* of the Sultan: it is evident that this is in fact the *Aķinjis*, and the very full

¹ Fr. Bartholomaeus de Jano, *op. cit.*, col. 1066.

² This second letter is printed by Mlle. Dupont in her edition of the *Chronicles of Wavrin* (Paris, 1859). It is preserved in old French in MS. Français 1278 in the Bibliothèque Nationale. In this MS. the subscription is *Berthélemy de Jennes*, taken by the editor as *Barthélemy de Gènes*, under which name it has sometimes been quoted, a confusion of Jano (Giano, near Spoleto) with Janua (Genoa).

details of their training and methods of operation are extremely interesting. A description of the Anatolian nomads, Yuruks and the like, contained in Cap. x may also be mentioned. Lastly in Cap. xxii there are two long anecdotes, in themselves mere popular tales, regarding Murad II's close relations with Der-vishes ; it is generally recognised that these relations did exist but this passage affords interesting confirmation and contemporary record of the fact.

As regards the manners and customs of his captors the author gives on the whole a very moderate and fair account. He denounces the growing thirst for slaves and luxury and gives a distinct impression of a society turning from primitive austerity to a luxurious mode of life, which is of some interest. As for private morals, female modesty, family life and so forth, his account is favourable, a fact which had a curious influence on the future of this book. He wrote, as we have seen, with the idea of helping others who became captives. No doubt, however, the first Roman edition of his work was printed with a view to rousing the feelings of Christians in regard to the Turkish menace, particularly threatening about 1480, and the subsequent Latin editions prior to 1530 had the same object. The Latin editions in Germany in 1530-1531 and the German versions had a different (or at least an additional) object, which appears clearly in the preface written by Luther for one of these later Latin editions. Fastening on the favourable account of Moslem morals and manners, Luther uses this to draw unfavourable comparisons with his Catholic opponents and with the Catholic priesthood and monastic orders, while maintaining the superiority of Christianity according to his own version of it ; Sebastian Frank, in the German versions due to him, pushes the argument further with the aim of showing the equal value (or lack of value) of all religious institutions. Thus the *Tractatus* is carried by a side-wind into the controversial literature of the Protestant movement.

As regards religious life among the Ottomans, the author records a great deal of interesting information. He acquired an intimate knowledge of Moslem beliefs, rites, and even, to some extent, of theology. He has a great deal to say about

local and popular devotions to holy men, their tombs, and various superstitions. Some of this information containing references to Haji Bektash was translated by Hasluck.¹ In Cap. xiii he described different types, or even perhaps orders, of Dervishes whom it would be interesting and probably feasible to identify. In Cap. xiv he gives what must be the earliest extant description of the "dancing" of the Mevlevi Dervishes; it is detailed and accurate and differs very little from what could be seen in a Mevlevi *tekke* twenty-five years ago and equally no doubt to-day.

A point which may be of great interest arises in Cap. xx where the varying opinions on certain points of four different religious classes or groups are discussed. The first three of these classes are the orthodox religious officials ('*ulemā* as we say, but in those days among the Turks *danishmendler*, Europeanised as *talismans*), the Dervishes, and the Sufis; as to the fourth, the text says that *horife dicitur quod heresim sonat*. Foy in the work mentioned above made *horife* into '*urefā* "knowers", "initiates". There are several reasons for questioning this interpretation. '*Urefā* is here the plural of a word '*ārif*, which does have this meaning; while, however, the terms *danishmendler*, *dervishler* and *sufiler* are used to describe well-known and recognised classes or categories of religious, '*urefā* is not used in a comparable manner. Further, those to whom the word '*urefā* might be applied would almost always fall within the previously mentioned categories of Dervishes or Sufis. Moreover, although an '*ārif* would have views which might not be generally accepted, those views would not deserve the pointed and emphatic description of "heresy", which the author gives to them. I do not, therefore, believe that Foy has correctly interpreted *horife*, and I think that it has another and much more interesting significance.

I suggest that the word *horife* really represents *Hurūfī*; this sect or order did profess esoteric doctrines of a most extreme kind, which were generally regarded as beyond the limit of permissible deviation. Their history is obscure and such evidence as this to show that they were openly known and

¹ F. W. Hasluck, *loc. cit.*

fairly widespread in the Ottoman realms at that period would be of very great interest indeed. The misprinting of Turkish words in the *Tractatus*, already referred to, would sufficiently account for the orthography *Horife*.¹

The author of the *Tractatus* treats with remarkable humanity and naturalness the problem of apostasy among Christian captives. He observes in Cap. xx that they can be put into three classes. The first are the quite uneducated who take no interest in their Moslem surroundings and therefore suffer no attraction towards Islam and on the whole escape unscathed in faith. The second are those whose curiosity impels them to examine Moslem beliefs and customs but whose intelligence suffices in the end to preserve them from the danger of apostasy. The third are those whose curiosity exceeds their good sense and intelligence and who are overborne by their own enquiries and perhaps by worldly ambition; these apostatise and often gain great advantage thereby. Fr. Georgius himself belonged to the second class. He confesses that he was drawn into a very close and far-reaching study of Moslem tenets, frequenting mosques and Dervish teachers and reaching the brink of apostasy, and his description of how at the very last moment grace was given to him to draw back and then for fifteen more years of captivity to hold firmly to the true Faith is really touching. In all these passages of his work there is a personal and human tone of a quite uncommon kind.

I have avoided extensive quotation, for reasons of space, but I will close these notes on the manifold points of interest in the *Tractatus* by quoting from Cap. ix one brief but singular anecdote, as follows:

Fratres in Pera dixerunt eum [sc. Magnum Turcum] intrasse ecclesiam eorum et sedisse in choro ad videndum ceremonias et modum officii unde etiam ipsi missam coram eo ipso sic volenti celebraverunt et hostiam non consecratam elevatione demonstraverunt, volentes eius curiositati satisfacere nec tamen margaritas porcis prodere.

¹ For the vowel in the first syllable, 'o' instead of 'u', we find a parallel in the text in *czofilar* (*sufiler*); for the vowel in the second syllable, 'i' instead of 'u', we can find a similar parallel where (in Cap. xxii) we read *Mirathbeg* (Murat Beg).

The *Magnus Turcus* is the Sultan and he must here be Mehmed II, the conqueror of Constantinople. The *fratres in Pera* must surely be the friars of the author's own Order, the Dominicans. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Dominicans possessed in Galata-Pera the church and convent of St. Paul, which were forcibly taken from them in 1535 by refugee Spanish Moriscos (*Grenatini*), after which the Dominicans held the church of St. Peter. The building known as the Church of St. Paul was supposed to have been originally, before coming into Christian hands, the mosque built by Maslama, the Arab commander in the siege of A.D. 717, and is now known as *Arab Jami* (the Arab Mosque). If this were true, it would be in the Mosque built by the Arab besieger of 717 that the Turkish conqueror of 1453 witnessed the Christian mysteries—*salvo arcano*.¹

From examining the value of the *Tractatus* as a historical source, one turns naturally to consider by what later writers it has been so used, and which of these later writers was aware of the author's identity; moreover, it becomes possible in this way to determine whether knowledge of the author's identity depends in all cases ultimately on the statement of Bernardus de Lutzemburgo or whether there is any trace of some other source of information on this point. I may state (and the following paragraphs will prove) that every mention of the author's identity goes back ultimately to the statement in Bernardus de Lutzemburgo, and there is no trace of any other source or evidence on the point; except to Hasluck and Banfi in very recent times, the British Museum gloss has not been known.

The numerous Latin editions of the *Tractatus* from 1480 to 1550 testify to the fact that its value was then highly appreciated and that it was used by many students who may have left no express record of such use, and the same is true of the German versions, allowing for the special motives which affected the appearance and use of these. It is, however, possible to make

¹ On the Dominican Order and the church of St. Paul in Galata see B. Altaner, *Die Dominikanermissionen des xiii Jahrhunderts*, pp. 12-14. and M. A. Belin, *Histoire de la Latinité de Constantinople*, p. 215.

a long and interesting catalogue of writers who do quote from or expressly mention or refer to the *Tractatus*.¹

The earliest writer in question is the Austrian humanist and diplomat Johannes Cuspinianus; although the work in which Cuspinian's quotations are contained did not appear in print until 1541, he himself had died in 1529 so that his use of the *Tractatus* is contemporaneous with that of Bernardus de Lutzemburgo.² However, Cuspinian treats the author of the *Tractatus* as anonymous though he observed that he was a religious (*frater quidam*). His quotations are fairly numerous; the first of them is the interesting passage on the origin of the Ottoman principedom, referred to above, but there are many others scattered through his pages. He usually acknowledges his source but not always; thus, he summarises the account of the Akinjis without acknowledgment. Christophe Richier, whose work in French was printed contemporaneously with Cuspinian's work, also uses the *Tractatus* extensively but entirely without acknowledgment.³ Conrad Gessner at the same period lists a copy of the Latin edition of 1508, *Septemcastrensi quodam autore incerto*; he mentions the reference to St. Vincent Ferrer but without stating that the author was a Dominican.⁴ Georgius Fabricius, also at this period, mentions *Sibenburgii captivi librum*.⁵

In the seventeenth century G. J. Vossius saw a copy of the edition of 1508 at Amsterdam but lists the author as anonymous.⁶ Later, J. H. Hottinger quotes or abbreviates from the *Tractatus*, but not very extensively: he noticed that the author was a religious (*Septemcastrensis Monachus*).⁷

¹ Strictly speaking, the earliest instance of the use of the *Tractatus* is by the compiler of the work entitled *De Captivis Christianis*, but I have included this as the last item in my list of the Latin editions below, as it is a case of much more than quotation or citation.

² Johannes Cuspinianus, *De Origine Turcorum*, first printed as part of his *De Caesaribus et Imperatoribus opus insigne* at Strasburg, 1540, then separately at Antwerp, 1541.

³ Christophe Richier (or Richier), *De Turcorum Origine*, Paris, 1541.

⁴ Conrad Gessner *Pandectarum . . . libri xxi*, Zurich, 1538, Liber XII, Titulus X.

⁵ Georgius Fabricius in his proem to *Georgii Agricolae Oratio de Bello adversus Turcam suscipiendo*, Basel, 1538.

⁶ Gebhard Johann Vossius, *De Historicis Latinis*, 1627, p. 516, 1654, p. 564.

⁷ J. H. Hottinger, *Historia Orientalis*, 1651, pp. 270, 305.

In 1719, Quétif-Echard republished the passage from Bernardus de Lutzemburgo.¹ From their note the author's identity was recognised by several eighteenth-century writers who mention or quote from the *Tractatus*, viz.: Joecher,² J. A. Fabricius,³ A. Horanyi,⁴ and Christian Carl am Ende.⁵ Other writers of the same period refer to the work but are ignorant of the passage in Quétif-Echard and of the author's identity: such are C. W. Luedecke⁶ and A. L. von Schloezer,⁷ the latter of whom had not even seen the *Tractatus* but merely "sub-quotes" from Cuspinian the passage on Ottoman origins and coins for the author the inaccurate description of *Mühlenbacher*.

In the nineteenth century, the author's name was picked up from Christian Carl am Ende by J. G. Meusel⁸ and by writers on Sebastian Frank such as H. Bischof⁹ and C. A. Hase.¹⁰ On the other hand, the great historian of the Ottoman Empire, Josef von Hammer, remained ignorant of the author's name though he used the *Tractatus* and expresses a high opinion of its value.¹¹

Local historians of the Siebenbürgen in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries are well-acquainted with the work but

¹ Quétif-Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Predicatorum*, 1719, Vol. I, p. 901a.

² C. J. Joecher, *Gelehrten Lexicon*, 1752, s.n. *Georgius de Ungaria*.

³ J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Latina mediae et infimae aetatis*, s.n. *Georgius de Ungaria*. I have referred to the *editio prima Italica*, of 1754.

⁴ A. Horanyi, *Memoria Hungarorum*, etc., 1776, Vol. II, p. 172.

⁵ Christian Carl am Ende, *Beschluss seiner Nachlese von Sebastian Franks Leben und Schriften*, Erlangen, 1789, p. 7. A most difficult reference to verify. I must acknowledge the help of the University or State Librarians at Bonn, Erlangen, Cöttingen and (with ultimate success) Munich.

⁶ C. W. Luedecke, *Beschreibung des türkischen Reiches*, 1778, Vol. II, p. 101.

⁷ A. L. von Schloezer, *Kritisch-historische Neben Stunden*, 1798, p. 91.

⁸ J. G. Meusel's enlarged edition of B. G. Struve's *Bibliotheca Historica*, 1802, Vol. X, Part II, p. 169.

⁹ H. Bischof, *Sebastian Frank und deutsche Geschichtsschreibung*, 1857, p. 33. He calls the author Gregorius by a slip.

¹⁰ C. A. Hase, *Sebastian Frank von Wörd*, 1869, pp. 4-6.

¹¹ Josef von Hammer, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, 2^{te} Auflage, 1834-1835, Vol. I, pp. 23, 344. In the French translation Hellert mentions in his notes the quotation in von Schloezer, *ubi sup*.

ignorant of the author's name. Such are Johann Seivert,¹ F. Trausch,² and G. D. Teutsch.³ It is Seivert who records for us the marginal gloss as to the author's birthplace, Ramocz ; it was in Seivert's copy of Bibliander's work, which contains the Latin editions of 1543 and 1550.

Some Hungarian writers (including bibliographers, to be mentioned later) of the nineteenth century likewise know the work but not the author's name, e.g., J. Kemény⁴ and Graf. J. Mailáth.⁵ The ambiguous but rather important reference in the work of another nineteenth-century Hungarian, F. Toldy, has been discussed above.⁶

In 1896, Charles Schefer translated a number of passages from the *Tractatus* in his introduction to a reprint of the French version of Spandugino, including the curious passage about the Sultan's attendance at a Mass, in which he wrongly took the *fratres* to be Franciscans ; he missed the reference to St. Vincent Ferrer and remained ignorant of the author's identity or of his connexion with the Order of Preachers.⁷ In 1902, a study of the Turkish poems, phrases and words used in the *Tractatus* was published by K. Foy, which is exhaustive and of the highest value, though in a few details correction is required ; he, again, did not know who the author was.⁸ In 1907 N. Iorga knew only the last of the German versions (1596), and accepted the otherwise unsupported statement on the title-page of that version that the author was a Transylvanian nobleman named Johann Lasski.⁹

Within very recent times, we have F. W. Hasluck,¹⁰ W.

¹ Johann Seivert, *Nachrichten von siebenbürgischen Gelehrten*, Pressburg, 1785, p. 457.

² F. Trausch, *Schriftsteller-Lexicon der siebenbürger Deutschen*, 1875, Vol. III, pp. 431-439.

³ G. D. Teutsch, *Geschichte der siebenbürger Sachsen*, 2nd edition, 1899, p. 212.

⁴ J. Kemény, *Történelmi és irodalmi kalászatok*, 1861, p. 5.

⁵ Graf. J. Mailáth, *Geschichte der Magyaren*, Vol. II, p. 189.

⁶ F. Toldy, *op. cit.*

⁷ Charles Schefer, *Petit Traité de l'Origine des Turcqz par Théodore Spandouyn Cantacassin*, 1896, Introduction *passim*.

⁸ K. Foy, *op. cit.*, cf. note 1, p. 51.

⁹ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, 1908, Vol. I, p. 420. As to the name Lasski, see note 2, p. 65.

¹⁰ F. W. Hasluck, *op. cit.*

Stammler,¹ F. Banfi,² and E. Veress,³ all of whom have discussed and recognised the author's identity. The works of Hasluck and Banfi have been already referred to. Veress has a note based on Banfi and Apponyi (see below), placing the arrival of Fr. Georgius in Rome in 1473: here, he seems to follow Banfi, but, as I think, mistakenly. Stammler's article contains minor inaccuracies.⁴

Numerous copies of the various Latin editions or German versions are noticed in standard bibliographical works such as those of Mattaire,⁵ Denis,⁶ Panzer,⁷ Kertbeny,⁸ Szabó,⁹ and Apponyi.¹⁰ None of them is aware of the author's identity, though Denis, Mattaire and Panzer already noticed that he was a Dominican; Apponyi follows Denis in this, but quite mistakenly conjectures that he was identical with Ricoldus de Montecrucis, referring on this to the editions of 1509 and 1511, mentioned below.

The British Museum *Catalogue of Early Printed Books* recognises Georgius de Hungaria as the author.

I turn finally, with a word on the author's MS., to the attempt to give a correct and full list of the Latin editions and German versions. In this, I have been much assisted by the fact that the British Museum possesses a remarkably rich collection of these: it is chiefly due to this that I shall have to suggest a correction of Banfi's list, which was compiled at a distance and without the advantage of direct access to the

¹ W. Stammler, *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters, Verfasser-Lexicon*, 1931, Vol. I, p. 381, s.n. *Chronica und Beschreibung der Türckey*. He gives a few additional references which I have not had the opportunity to verify, notably *Arch. des Ver. f. siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, III (1848), pp. 63-70.

² F. Banfi, *op. cit.*

³ E. Veress, *op. cit.*

⁴ He gives 1437, instead of 1438, for the fall of Sebes, and 1536, instead of 1596, as the date of the last German version, that published by Enustinus.

⁵ Mattaire, *Ann. Typ.*, ed. Amsterdam, 1733, pp. 341, 426.

⁶ Denis, *Ann. Typ. Matt. Suppl.*, Part II, pp. 683-684, Nos. 6084, 6085.

⁷ Panzer, *Ann. Typ.*, II, 239, 375; IV, 203, 1238-1239; *Ann. Typ. Cont.*, VII, 268, 476; IX, 89, 210 and 338, 1239b.

⁸ K. M. Kertbeny, *Ungarn betreffende deutsche Erstlings-Drücke, 1454-1600*, pp. 84-85, Nos. 398-404.

⁹ K. Szabó, *Régi magyar könyvtár az 1473-1711*, Köt. 3, Resz I, Nos. 81-86, 164, 173, 194, 283, 285-288.

¹⁰ Graf Alexander Apponyi, *Hungarica*, No. 58.

British Museum material, concerning which, in consequence, he was on some points slightly misled.

Bernardus de Lutsemburgo seems to mean that the author's original MS. was at S. Maria sopra Minerva; perhaps this statement is not invalidated by the fact that the MS. does not figure in a surviving list of the books in that library, which was compiled late in the fifteenth century, though its absence is disappointing.¹ As mentioned above, Toldy may possibly have seen the MS. c. 1850-1860. It has now disappeared. When Rome was taken from the Pope in 1870, the Minerva library was scattered; the MS. is not now there, nor is it among the former Minerva books traceable in other Roman libraries.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The following is my list of the Latin editions :—

1. Rome, Georgius Teutonicus (Lauer ?)—Sixtus Riessinger (Third Press), c. 1480: *Incipit Prohemium in Tractatum de Moribus Conditionibus [sic] et Nequicia Turcorum*. (Hain 15673.)

2. Urach, Conrad Fyner, c. 1481: *Incipit Prohemium in Tractatum de Moribus Conditionibus [sic] et Nequicia Turcorum*. (Hain 15672.)

3. Cologne, Johann Koelhoff, 1500: *Tractatus de Ritu Moribus et Nequicia Turcorum*. (Hain 15674.)

4. Cologne, Cornelis von Zierickzee, 1508: *De Ritu Moribus Nequitia et Multiplicatione Turcorum* (see further below as to the title-page of this edition).

5. Paris, Henricus Stephanus, 1509: *Contenta Ricoldi ordinis praedicatorum contra sectam Mahumeticam non indignus scitu libellus. Cuiusdam diu captivi Turcorum provinciae septemcastrensis de vita et moribus eorundem alius non minus necessarius*. The commencement reads *Prooemium de moribus conditionibus et nequicia Turcorum a quodam Christiano provinciae Septemcastrensis diu in manibus Turcorum captivo editum*.

6. Paris, Henricus Stephanus, 1511—as in No. 5, but in addition *Adjunctum est insuper libellus de vita et moribus Iudaeorum*, as to which a colophon adds the detail *Victore nunc Sacerdote Christiano olim Iudaeo* (i.e. Victor de Carben).

7. Paris, Le Marnef, 1514: *Thurcicę spurcitę et perfidiaę sugillatio et confutatio*, etc., etc. (a verbose title which I need not reproduce in full).

8. Wittenberg, Johannes Lufft, 1530: *Libellus de ritu et moribus Turcorum ante LXX annos aeditus, cum praefatione Martini Lutheri*.

9. Nürnberg, Friedrich Peypus, March, 1530: as in No. 8.

10. A reprint included in Vol. ii of the collection of works on Mahomedan religion and history known as *Machumetis Sarracenorum Principis Vita ac*

¹ Gilles Meersseman, O.P., *La Bibliothèque des Frères Prêcheurs de la Minerve à la fin du XV^e Siècle* in *Mélanges Auguste Pelzer*, Louvain, 1947, pp. 606-634. (University de L. Rec. de Trav. d'Hist. et de Philol., 3^{ème} Série, 26^{ème} Fasc.).

Doctrina, which was edited by Theodore Bibliander and printed at Basel in 1543.

11. The second edition of No. 10 printed in 1550.

12. I would note further that in addition to these full Latin editions the treatise entitled *De Captivis Christianis* printed at Augsburg by Froschauer in 1498 consists mainly of abbreviated excerpts from the *Tractatus de Moribus*.

The following is my list of the German versions :—

(a) Strassburg, Christian Egenolph, January, 1530: *Chronica Glaube Gesetz usw. der Türcken von einem Sibenbürger so da in Türkei gefencklich bracht, und vil jar nachmals darinnen gewonet in MDCCCCXXXVI jar beschriben. Sed quacre*, whether the true date of this edition is January, 1531.

(b) Strassburg, Christian Egenolph, May, 1530: *Saracenisich, Türkisch, und Mahometisch Glaub, Gesetz usw. durch einem Sibenbürger umb das m, cccc und sechs und dreissiget jar selb erfahren und beschriben*.

(c) Nürnberg, Friedrich Peypus, 1530: *Chronica und Beschreibung der Türckey usw., von einen Sibenbürger xxii jar darinn gefangen gelegen yn Latein beschrieben verteuscht mit eyner vorrhed D. Martini Luttheri*.

(d) Zwickau, Wolfgang Meyerpeck, 1530: *Chronica, Glaube, Gesetz der Türcken von einem Sibenbürger so da yn die Türckey gefencklich bracht usw.* With additions and *Beschluss* by Sebastian Franck.

(e) Augsburg, Hainrich Stainer [sic], December, 1530: *Cronica Abconterfayung und Entwurfung der Türckey usw.*, stating the translator to be Sebastian Franck.¹

(f) Augsburg, Heynrich Steyner [sic], June, 1531: as (e) above.

(g) 1560, no printer or place: *Warrhafftige Beschreibung der türkischen Krigsrustung usw.* This contains hardly more than scraps of the original work combined with other material.

(h) Berlin, 1596: *Mahometische Genealogia durch. M. Henricum Enustinum von Hamburg und sonst einem siebenbürgischen Edelman Johannes Lasski genannt welcher 22 Jahr darin gefangen gelegen beschriben*. One of the earlier German versions incorporated in full in the middle of other material.²

The British Museum possesses copies of all the above except Nos. 5 and 8 of the Latin, and (a), (b) and (d) of the German. It has two copies of Nos. 2, 4 and 7; the Grenville copy of

¹ Stammler, *op. cit.*, states that the first German version was published at Augsburg, but gives no grounds for this assertion and does not make it clear which of the Augsburg editions he means.

² The name of Johannes Lasski given on the title page seems to be an invention of Enustinus. Lasski (Laski, a Lasco) is a Polish name. It has been suggested that the choice was due to the exploits (in Transylvania and Turkey) of Jerome Laski, brother of John a Lasco, but he had been dead half a century and the suggestion seems rather wild. The Hungarian or Transylvanian names Laczkó and Laskai somewhat resemble Lasski. Could either of these have been the original name of Fr. Georgius of which an echo somehow reached Enustinus? Seivert's gloss is a precedent for the unaccountable transmission of a detail quite possibly true.

No. 2 lacks four leaves. All are catalogued (1951) under the name *Georgius*, with the cognomen *de Hungaria*, except Latin No. 6 which is catalogued only under the names *Ricoldus de Montecrucis* and *Victor de Carben*, and German (*h*) which is catalogued only under *Enustinus*.

Kertbeny refers to Latin editions of 1460 and 1478, but this is a mere mistake as to the dates of the earliest editions; he also mentions a Latin edition at Basel by Erasmus in 1530, but I find no other trace of this. He also has what he calls the third German edition entitled *Auss Rathschlage Eresmi v. Rotterdam, die Türken zu bekriegen*, etc. I cannot trace this, nor can I verify a reference which he gives to *Sabellicum im ix Buch Enneadis*.

A more important and different point arises over the Latin edition No. 4 with the title *De Ritu Moribus Nequitia et Multiplicatione Turcorum*.

This is ascribed at the British Museum to Cornelis von Zierickzee of Cologne, and the authority for this description is Proctor. The entry in Proctor is Part II, Section I, 10552, but this entry gives the title only as *De ritu et moribus Turcorum*, which is the title of Latin No. 3, the Koelhoff edition: this latter edition is dealt with by Proctor under Part I, Vol. 1, No. 1088, and the entry No. 10552 is evidently intended for our Latin No. 4. Banfi, at a distance from the British Museum and with only the actual wording of No. 10552 before him, took that entry to record an edition distinct both from Koelhoff's edition of 1500 and also from the edition of 1508 which has the title *De Ritu Moribus Nequitia et Multiplicatione Turcorum*: how Banfi dealt with this latter edition, we shall see below. Banfi's supposed separate edition entitled *De ritu et moribus Turcorum*, based on Proctor's entry 10552, is thus due to a misunderstanding and should be eliminated.

The title page of our Latin No. 4 is ornamented with two perpendicular and oblong panels containing floral decoration and below them a long narrow panel with an animal. Above the panels, the full wording on the title page is as follows:—*Tractatus De Ritu Moribus Nequitia et Multiplicatione Turcorum in quo si quispiam aliquid de secta Turcorum magna atque*

admiranda scire desiderat pauca que hic sub compendio narrantur memoria resolvat namque si ea sane diligenterque inspexerit de multis inquisitionis veritatem agnoscet. As we have seen, this is the edition which introduces the supplement *De decem nationibus Christianorum* borrowed from Johannes de Hees. The end sheet has the same panels as the title page, above them the words *Finiunt ritus et mores Thurcorum una cum oratione testimoniali eorundem*, and between them the words *Sermo in ideomate Thurcorum cum interpretatione latina*.

Panzer, Vol. 2, page 239, No. 375, following Denis 6084, described an edition with the above title and with *duo iconismi* on the title page; these would seem to be the floral panels but he does not mention the animal panel below. He says that between these two panels were printed the corrupted names of the first seven Turkish rulers (*duces*).¹ These names are not found so printed on the title page of Latin No. 4 in the British Museum, and the possibility therefore remains that the copy described by Denis and Panzer represents a separate edition or issue produced by von Zierickzee, the title pages differing as to these names between the panels, and perhaps the animal panel below.

The copy described by Denis and Panzer, moreover, ended with the words which conclude Cap. xxiii; it lacked, therefore, not only (as Banfi observes) the *Ratio Testimonialis*, *Duo Sermones*, etc., but also the addition of the *De decem nationibus*. On this ground, therefore, it may again be a separate edition or else it is a defective copy of our Latin No. 4.

The edition represented by this copy is ascribed by Denis *fortasse Conrad Zeniger Norimbergae*. Zeninger was at work about 1480. The British Museum does not support that description and the long title seems to indicate a later date. The description has, however, been adopted by Banfi, but once again, it seems, through a mistake caused by lack of direct access to the various copies. He takes this Denis copy to

¹ These are probably the names of the seven post-Seljuk princes given in Cap. i of the *Tractatus*. We count seven Ottoman Sultans from Osman to Mehmed II inclusive but early European writers usually added to that number one or more of the other sons of Bayezid I, e.g., Suleiman, or Calepinus (Musa Chelebi), in addition to Mehmed I.

represent the first German edition, by Zeninger in 1480; he mentions other copies with the same title but whether they have the same termination I do not feel sure. He then lists as a separate edition two copies at Szatmár and Halle with the same title and ending with the Latin translation of the Turkish poems, so that they lack (according to him) only the *Opinio Abbatis Joachim*; but they must also lack the *De decem nationibus*. These copies, however, have (according to him) the words *Finiunt ritus*, etc., at the end of the *Ratio Testimonialis*. Banfi is only quoting the description from Szabó and it seems as if this may be inaccurate and these copies are (as the Denis copy may be) defective copies of our Latin No. 4.

Banfi in this way, after the first edition at Rome, sets up two editions by Zeninger at Nürnberg, each defective, and only then a complete edition in Germany by Fyner at Urach; later he brings in the von Zierickzee edition in 1508 as distinct from the editions represented by the copies which he ascribes to Zeninger. I think there is no doubt that Banfi is wrong (misled by Denis) as to the supposed Zeninger editions; these are a myth, the first edition is Rome, the second is Fyner at Urach. On the other hand, it may be that von Zierickzee at Cologne, c. 1508, produced more than one edition or issue under the title *De Ritu Moribus Nequitia et Multiplicatione Turcorum* with slight differences on the title page and perhaps portions cut off at the end in some cases. This can only be determined by direct examination of the various copies bearing this title and alleged to display these differences, in order to see whether they are defective copies of one edition or something more.

I conclude with a word of warning as to the German versions. These are not true editions or translations. In all of them, the original text has been subjected to rearrangement, and in (g) only scraps of it remain combined with other material. The versions (a) to (f) and (h) are expanded by additional material on the history of the wars with the Turks and by controversial prefaces and epilogues. In using the *Tractatus* as a historical source for Ottoman history in the fifteenth century, the German versions should be eschewed and only the Latin editions employed.

SOME ILLUSTRATED PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY

By B. W. ROBINSON, M.A., B.LITT.

ASSISTANT KEEPER, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

THE main repositories of fine Persian manuscripts in this country are the British Museum, the Bodleian, and the India Office Library. Apart from these there is little, now that Mr. Chester Beatty has removed his unique collection to Ireland : two splendid fourteenth century manuscripts at Edinburgh, the companion volume to one of them and a fine mid-fifteenth century *Shāhnāma* at the Royal Asiatic Society, and a superb Qur'ān of 1442 at St. Andrews are in fact the only items of outstanding importance outside the present collection.

The John Rylands Library possesses some twenty Persian manuscripts illustrated with miniatures, of which several are of considerable importance to the study of Persian painting either from their splendid quality or their stylistic features. For convenience of treatment the manuscripts may be divided into three groups : (i) Timurid, c. 1400-1500, (ii) Early Safawid, 1500 up to the death of Shāh Tahmāsp in 1576, (iii) Later Safawid, 1576-1650. There are apparently no examples of the fourteenth century Mongol style of painting in the Library.

(i) *The Timurid Group*

(Persian MSS. nos. 933, 36, 37, 9, 24)

The majority of the numerous miniature paintings in the *Shāhnāma* No. 933, are in a rough hurried style of the early seventeenth century, but the general character of the manuscript, its writing, and some of its illuminations point to some two centuries earlier. The colophon gives the date 1195-1781, but this must apply only to the last few folios which have been supplied in a different hand and on different paper from the body

of the manuscript. The initial illuminations are of the same date as the majority of the miniatures, but the beginning of the Poem itself is illuminated in a broad style of the early fifteenth century. From this period also are four of the miniatures, representing Tahmīna coming to Rustam's chamber, Suhrāb on the point of killing Rustam, the fire-ordeal of Siyāwush, and Rustam carried by the Demon Akwān (they must be referred to by their subjects because, in common with nearly all the manuscripts under discussion, this *Shāhnāma* is not foliated). These miniatures occupy comparatively narrow bands across the wide pages of the manuscript, and have suffered a little from rubbing and clumsy retouching. The style is clearly "provincial", equally far removed from the sumptuous and elaborate productions of Baysunqur's artists at Herāt and the less magnificent but bolder and more vigorous paintings made for his elder brother Ibrāhīm Sulṭān at Shīrāz.

The problem of "provincial" painting in the Timurid period is bewildering and has scarcely been touched; very few examples can be pinned down in time and place. Either, as in the present instance, the first and last folios of the manuscript are lost, thereby depriving us of the *ex libris* of the first owner and the colophon with the date and the copyist's name, or, what is almost more exasperating, the colophon is confined to pious ejaculations, and the initial illuminated rosette, if any, merely calls down blessings and prosperity on an owner who modestly remains anonymous. Comparable provincial work of much the same period as the four miniatures under discussion occurs in a *Shāhnāma* now broken up, but from which twelve miniatures are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,¹ one in the Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard University,² and another in the Vever collection.³ Schroeder tentatively attributes the Fogg miniature to Tabrīz, and while not prepared to make so precise an attribution, I would agree with him in placing these miniatures in the north-west of Persia owing to certain similarities with a *Shāhnāma* dated 850-1446 and written for Muḥammad,

¹ *Eastern Art* (1928), i, 23 ff. (4 reproductions).

² Schroeder, *Persian Miniatures* (1942), pp. 79 ff. and pl. X.

³ *L'Illustration*, Christmas Number 1930 (colour reproduction).



Bahrām Gūr and the Dragon. From the *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī (Rylands Pers. MS. No. 36).

Shīrāz school, dated 848-849/1444-1445.

the fourth Sultan of an obscure local dynasty in Māzanderān.¹ The miniatures in the John Rylands manuscript, however, though of the same general character and probably also of north-western origin, contain some more markedly Mongol features than the others noticed above, and I should be inclined to date them about 1430. Besides the rough seventeenth-century miniatures already mentioned, this curious manuscript contains three illustrations towards the end of the Poem, representing Bahrām Gūr entertained by female musicians, Bahrām Gūr wrestling before King Shangul of Hind, and the enthronement of Pālāsh, which seem to be late copies (sixteenth or seventeenth century ?) from originals of the Mongol period in a style recalling that of the various *Shāhnāmas* and other manuscripts of about 1330-1340 associated with the Injū rulers of Shīrāz.²

The splendid Nizāmī of 1444-1445 (No. 36) is probably the finest Persian manuscript in the Library, remarkable alike for its superb illuminations, its vigorous and well-executed miniatures, and its excellent state of preservation which includes the original binding (rebacked only). The style of these miniatures, of which there are nineteen, appears to be directly descended from that of the Berlin Anthology³ and the Bodleian *Shāhnāma*⁴—in other words the style associated with Shīrāz under its Timurid governor Ibrāhīm Sultān b. Shāh Rukh (1414-1434). It persisted after his death, and can be clearly traced in a miniature of Iskander and the dragon of 1436,⁵ the Vever Khwājū

¹ de Zambaur, *Manuel de Genealogie &c.*, p. 193. This manuscript is at Dunimarle Castle, Fife. It was copied in *nashī* by Faṭḥallāh b. Aḥmad al-Sabzawārī, and although only the first half is illustrated (unfilled spaces being left throughout the remainder) it contains over eighty miniature paintings. An illuminated rosette on fol. 1a gives the full titles and genealogy of the patron.

² Stchoukine, *La Peinture Iranienne* (1936), pp. 93 f.

³ Copied "at Shīrāz" by Maḥmūd al-Ḥusaynī. See Kühnel's article on this manuscript in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* (1931), LI, 133 ff., and compare British Museum MS. Or. 2833, also copied "at Shīrāz" by the same scribe in 1405.

⁴ MS. Ouseley Add. 176. Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting* (1933), front. and XXXVIII-XL.

⁵ Martin, *Miniature Painting . . . of Persia &c.* (1912), pl. 53.

Kirmānī of 1438,¹ the Paris Juwaynī also of 1438,² the double-page miniature which formerly served as frontispiece to the Chester Beatty Nizāmī of 1463, but which must antedate that manuscript by some twenty years,³ two *Shāhnāmas* (one fragmentary) at Leningrad⁴ the second of which, dated 1445, was in the Persian Exhibition of 1931 (Catalogue 539H), and a Nizāmī of 1449-1450 in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.⁵ Of the later stage of the style this John Rylands Nizāmī is an excellent example whose illustrations, while retaining much of the vigour and certain of the mannerisms of Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's court painters, are on a smaller scale, and the rather *farouche* quality of some of the earlier miniatures has been toned down. The copyist has appended a colophon to each of the five poems, but unfortunately gives neither his name nor the place where the manuscript was produced; the dates are between Sha'bān 848 and Ṣafar 849 (November 1444 and May 1445). However, from the style of the miniatures and illuminations⁶ I have little hesitation in assigning the manuscript to Shīrāz. Associated in date and style with this Nizāmī, but of far lower quality, are the miniatures in a Qazwīnī in the John Rylands Library (No. 37). Unfortunately, as well as being of inferior execution, they are for the most part badly damaged.

The miniatures of the next manuscript we have to consider, a *Shāhnāma* with Nizāmī's *Khamsa* in the margins (No. 9), are apparently the work of at least two different artists, one of good average standard, and the other very primitive and crude. Many are damaged and some are left unfinished. Stylistically they seem to belong to a transition between the style of the

¹ Persian Exhibition Catalogue 539B. *Persian Miniature Painting*, LIII.

² Bibliothèque Nationale Suppl. pers. 206, and two detached miniatures in the British Museum, 1948-12-11-05 and 06. Blochet, *Musulman Painting* (1929), XCIV etc.

³ Schulz, *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei* (1914), II, 36 f.

⁴ Giusalini and Diakonov, *Iranian Miniatures* (1935), pl. 6-9.

⁵ Jackson and Yohannan, *Catalogue*, No. 6, p. 49. Dimand, *Handbook*, Fig. 9. *Eastern Art*, i, 29 and Figs. 6, 7.

⁶ For the latter compare for example Bodleian MS. Elliot 189 written "at Shīrāz" in 1463 probably by Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Jamālī, and Lord Teignmouth's *Shāhnāma* of 1457 copied by the same scribe, and therefore most probably also a Shīrāz manuscript.

Nizāmī No. 36 and that of the *Shāhnāma* of 1486 in the British Museum (Add. 18188). This latter style is very frequently met with during the last quarter of the fifteenth and the first few years of the sixteenth century, and I select the British Museum *Shāhnāma* to exemplify it only because it is probably the most easily accessible and best known. Excellent examples of this well-known style, which seems to have persisted with very little change for close on half a century, are the six charming little miniatures in MS. No. 24, a copy of the *Mihr u Mushtari* of 'Aṣṣār. A manuscript of the same work of very similar size and appearance and containing seven miniatures in the same style is in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society (No. 304).

The location of this style has puzzled many scholars. The only two manuscripts known to me whose miniatures clearly exemplify it and which at the same time contain statements of where they were produced are British Museum MS. Or. 5770, a *Dīwān* of Amīr Khusraw copied "at Shīrāz" in 1488 by Shaykh Murshid-al-Dīn,¹ and the well-known Upsala Ḍṣafī² which was the work of the calligrapher Sulṭān 'Alī, completed in 1502 "at the Sultan's residence Herāt". Two of the miniatures in the latter manuscript, however, are separately dated between one and two years after the completion of the text, and it has been generally admitted that they are "totally unlike Herāt work of the period". I would tentatively suggest that this style be associated, not so much with a particular place as with the dynasty of the Āq-Quyunlū, or "White Sheep" Turcomans, who were in possession of most of northern and western Persia during the second half of the fifteenth century. Their first capital was Diyarbekir (Amida) in Kurdistan, but the greatest

¹ Other manuscripts written by this scribe "at Shīrāz" include a Fattāḥī of 1480 at Cambridge (Univ. Lib. Or. 1280), an Amīr Khusraw of 1505 at Halle (Guest, *Shīrāz Painting in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 24, n. 1), and a Nizāmī of 1513 in the Kevorkian collection. Following Schroeder's excellent plea for the application of Occam's razor to the study of Persian painting, I see no necessity to postulate more than two Shīrāz copyists named Murshid between 1472 (B.M. Add. 6619) and 1552 (B.M. Or. 1359); I have noted eight manuscripts written by the first, dated between 1472 and 1513, and Miss Guest has listed thirteen by the second (called al-'Aṭṭār) between 1523 and 1552.

² Fully published and described by Zetterstéen and Lamm, *Mohammed Ḍṣafī: the Story of Jamāl and Jalāl*, Upsala, 1948.

of the "White Sheep", Ūzūn Ḥasan (1453-1478), who extended the family's dominion over Āzarbaijān and Fārs, made Tabrīz his capital from 1472. The maturity of the style during the last quarter of the fifteenth century may, however, be associated mainly with Shīrāz on the strength of the colophon of the British Museum Amīr Khusraw; on the fact that the copyist Na'im al-Dīn from whose pen seven manuscripts are recorded between 1481 and 1510, was a Shīrāzī, and four of these are illustrated in this style (the other three contain no miniatures); and on certain stylistic considerations, especially details of landscape, which have been carried over from the earlier Shīrāz style associated with the court of Ibrāhīm Sultān. But, as argued by Schroeder,¹ this "Turcoman" style was probably also practised at Tabrīz, the "White Sheep" capital. Its characteristically squat and sturdy figures are quite different from the slim and even attenuated ones favoured by the earlier Shīrāz artists; they are probably traceable to the north-west, being found in the controversial Paris Rashīd al-Dīn,² the Dunimarle *Shāhnāma* from Māzanderān of 1446 (see p. 71, n. 1), and the British Museum Anthology from Shīrwān (Shamakhā) of 1468.³

In view of the above considerations I am inclined to date the Shāhnāma No. 9 about 1460, and to suggest that it may have been produced at Shīrāz. The colophon of the little manuscript of *Mihr u Mushtari* gives the date 788-1386. But this date is utterly belied by the paper, the writing, the illuminations, and the miniatures, all of which can be closely paralleled again and again in manuscripts dated between 1480 and 1500. As the date is written out in full (*thamān wa thamānīn wa sab'amāya*) it seems hardly likely (as might be expected) that it could be a *lapsus calami* for 888-1483, though that would be a probable enough date for the manuscript. Possibly it was prompted by a desire to approximate the date of the copy to that of the actual composition of the work by 'Aṣṣār in 778-1376, or else it may have been the date of the original manuscript from which this copy was made.

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 87 ff.

² Bibliothèque Nationale Suppl. pers. 1113. Blochet, *Musulman Painting*, LIX-LXV etc.

³ Add. 16561. Arnold, *Painting in Islam* (1928), pl. II. B.M. post-card B. 28.

(ii) *The Early Safawid Group*

(Persian MSS. nos. 20, 932, 8, 910, 6, 23, 907)

Just as the Safawid dynasty brought unity to the numerous principalities into which Persia had been divided during the fifteenth century, so also Persian painting during this period becomes more unified, and its study is beset with less difficulty and confusion. Shīrāz maintained a certain artistic independence for the first hundred years of Safawid rule, as has been shown in Miss Guest's admirable study *Shīrāz Painting in the Sixteenth Century*,¹ and in the John Rylands Library examples of it may be found in MSS. Nos. 20, 932 and 8.

The first of these, dated 924-1518, is Jāmī's *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā* copied by Ḥusām al-Dīn Ibrāhīm. The five small miniatures it contains are of only average quality. They demonstrate the curious Safawid head-gear round which the turban was wound with its red "baton" rising from the centre. This became the distinguishing mark of the adherents of the fanatically Shī'a Safawid family, and hence a national Persian badge during the first half-century of their reign. Owing to its strong Shī'a associations it was naturally anathema to the Sunnī Turks, and in manuscripts which have passed through Turkish hands the "baton", where it occurs, is often found to have been laboriously painted out. The contrary may, however, be seen in a Nizāmī in the India Office Library (No. 387; Ethé 976) which was probably in course of production at Shīrāz when that city was surrendered by the "White Sheep" Turcomans to Shāh Ismā'il Ṣafawī. In several of the miniatures the full round turbans typical of the style I have tentatively associated with the "White Sheep" dynasty have been altered in shape and provided with "batons" to bring them into line with the usage of the new reigning house.

The other two manuscripts of this Shīrāz group, Nos. 932 and 8 are both *Shāhnāmas*. There is much similarity between them, and they are typical of the mid-sixteenth century Shīrāz style. The first is dated Muḥarram 949/April-May 1542, and contains thirty-eight miniatures of which the earlier ones

¹ Freer Gallery of Art Oriental Studies No. 4, Washington, 1949.

appear to be by a less able artist than those in the later part of the volume. Among the latter is a representation of the fire-belching iron horsemen constructed by Alexander and used in battle against the Hindus; this subject is very rarely treated, the only other example I know being the celebrated fourteenth century painting from the Demotte *Shāhnāma*.¹ No. 8 appears to be a little later, perhaps between 1550 and 1560, and contains nineteen miniatures somewhat inferior in general quality to those in no. 932. The printed handlist of Arabic, Persian and Turkish MSS. (1898), states that this manuscript is dated 1455; this is, however, almost exactly a century too early, and during my examination of it I was unable to find any date.

Another *Shāhnāma*, no. 910, contains about a hundred miniatures of a not very high quality on the whole, and painted in two distinct styles. Those towards the beginning may perhaps be Shīrāz work of about 1520, but the later ones recall the work of artists of Qazwīn or Iṣfahān towards the end of the century. The last folio has been remounted, and the colophon thereby damaged; it is possible, however, to make out part of the date as "ninety-four" (*arba' wa tis'in*). 894-1489 is, of course, far too early, but 994-1586 would agree well with the probable date of the later miniatures, and it may be that the manuscript was for some reason left unfinished, being at length completed and the later miniatures added some sixty years after its inception.

But the "classic" painting of the earlier Safawid period was executed at Tabrīz under the royal patronage of Shāh Tahmāsp, himself an amateur painter and connoisseur. The masterpiece of this magnificent court art is the famous Nizāmī in the British Museum,² which occupied his foremost artists and craftsmen between 1539 and 1543. The John Rylands Library has a very fine example of Shāh Tahmāsp's court style in MS. no. 6, the *Khusraw u Shīrīn* of Nizāmī copied by Aẓhar al-Sulṭānī Mashhadī. As it stands, the date in the colophon reads 824-1421, but even a cursory examination will reveal that

¹ Often reproduced, but see especially Schroeder, *Persian Miniatures*, pp. 46-48 and pl. VI.

² Or. 2265. Fully published and described by Laurence Binyon in the *Studio* publication *The Poems of Nizami* (1928).

the first two digits have been interfered with. The original date was most probably 944-1538, though there was a scribe named Azhar who copied Bodleian MS. Elliot 210 in 1431. The five miniatures are of exquisite quality, and the manuscript is splendidly illuminated.

Another copy of Jāmī's *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*, no. 23, was executed in 957-1550 by Muḥammad Amīn b. 'Abdallāh, and illustrated with four miniatures of good average quality. They are quite unlike Shīrāz work of the period, and the strong colouring together with certain features of the drawing seem to foreshadow the Qazwīn style of some twenty years later.¹ No. 907, the *Laylā wa Majnūn* of Hilālī, contains three miniatures of medium quality, retouched in places, and may also be Qazwīn work. It is dated 969-1562, and was copied by Muḥammad al-Kātib.

(iii) *The Later Safawid Group*

(Persian MSS. nos. 45, 28, 856, 12, 945, 3, 2, 35, 908, 909)

During the whole of the sixteenth century a distinct school of painting was flourishing at Bukhārā. Its style was at first modelled closely on that of Herāt at the end of the fifteenth century—the style of Bihzād—but gradually deteriorated until by 1596 it had sunk into the mediocre drawing and tedious mannerisms found in a pair of Jāmī manuscripts in the Bodleian (Elliot 418 and 337). The John Rylands Library possesses a typical example of the school in the set of five miniatures in MS. no. 45, dated 987-1579, which contains selections from the works of several poets. As frequently at this period and later, the illuminations are of a much higher standard than the paintings, which in this case have also suffered from retouching. No. 28, a copy of Hātifi's *Laylā wa Majnūn*, containing sixteen miniatures in a curious provincial style apparently of the late sixteenth century, may also have been executed in Transoxania.

¹ As exemplified in two Nizāmī manuscripts copied by the celebrated Bābāshāh of Iṣfahān: Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, MS. 18-1948, dated 1572, and Bodleian MS. Ouseley 316 of about the same date. Huart (*Les Calligraphes, etc.*, p. 234) states that Bābāshāh was also a painter, and the strong resemblance between the miniatures in these two manuscripts may possibly suggest that he was the illustrator as well as the copyist.

The first three manuscripts from Persia proper to be considered in this period may all be associated with Shīrāz. The first, no. 856, is a fine but undated copy of Nizāmī's *Khamsa*. The sixteen miniatures it contains are so close in style to certain others in a Bodleian *Haft Awrang* of Jāmī which was shown at the Persian Exhibition of 1931¹ that they may well be by the same hand. This Oxford manuscript was copied by Muḥammad Qiwām, a well-known Shīrāz scribe, and is included by Miss Guest in her conspectus of sixteenth century Shīrāz work.² Both manuscripts may be dated to about 1580-1590.

The same style on a smaller scale may be seen in MSS. nos. 12 and 945, dated 1016-1607 and 1027-1618 respectively. The former was copied by the Shīrāz scribe Muḥammad al-Qiwāmī. Several Shīrāz copyists of this period bear very similar names, and it is difficult sometimes to distinguish between them. Besides Muḥammad Qiwām and Muḥammad al-Qiwāmī mentioned above, we also find Muḥammad b. Qiwām, Muḥammad al-Qiwām, and Qiwām b. Muḥammad. It might be possible to identify Muḥammad Qiwām with Muḥammad al-Qiwām, though their dated work spans a period of forty-five years from 1537 to 1582; whilst it seems not unreasonable to merge Muḥammad al-Qiwāmī (dated work 1601-1607) with Muḥammad b. Qiwām (work undated, but c. 1580-1590). Qiwām b. Muḥammad, who seems also to have signed simply Qiwām al-Kātib al-Shīrāzī,³ may well have been son of the first and father of the second; a *Shāhnāma* copied by him is dated 1589.

The capital of Persia was transferred to Iṣfahān at the close of the sixteenth century by the great Shāh 'Abbās, and under the influence of Āqā Rizā and later Rizā-yi 'Abbāsī the character and palette of Persian painting underwent a considerable change from about that time. Combinations of purples, browns and

¹ Elliot 149: Persian Exhibition Catalogue 721E. Two artists were employed on this manuscript, and it is the better of them, who painted twelve of its twenty miniatures, whose work the illustrations in John Rylands MS. no. 856 so closely resemble.

² *Op cit.*, p. 61, no. 32.

³ Bodleian MS. Marsh 431. In Ethé's Catalogue this manuscript is said to be dated 1556; but I have been unable to find this date in the colophon or elsewhere. Both the miniatures and illuminations suggest some twenty years later.



و کرد بر کرد سر یار یار استند و مادام که نشسته باشد ایستاده باشند و چون ملک بخت
 و دانش سنجاشاید و فرود کند و بدین شکل که مصورش و منها صورت اشغال السوم و انجان و دکه



سر یار سازند و در زیر آن سر
 جری بر سیل قائم و بر پسر آن
 میل صوفی بود و در دست او
 شمع و در زیر صورت خود
 پرازیک و از حوض انبوه بود
 مابرج خاکه رنگ از آن انبوه

بر وجهی میزد جری را میگرداند چون جری بگردید و بر آن داند و در دست صورت سنج افزوده

yellows often replace the pure bright colours of the previous century, and the figures, with their languid posturing and effeminate features, reflect an increasing national decadence which made the once proud Safawid kingdom an easy prey to a handful of marauding Afghans at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The style at its best is represented in a Qazwīnī of 1041-1632 (no. 3), copied by a certain Shamsā. The illustration of Qazwīnī must often have been a bugbear to Persian artists, requiring as it did several hundred paintings for each copy, many of them monotonous repetitions of rocks, trees, or fish ; and it must be admitted that the roughest work of any period is often to be found in the illustration of this astonishing work. But there are honourable exceptions, as everyone interested in Persian painting will know, and the present manuscript is certainly one of them ; the numerous miniatures are of a uniformly high standard of execution, and the manuscript itself is in a splendid state of preservation. The style is close to that of Rīzā-yi 'Abbāsī himself, particularly as exemplified in the Victoria and Albert Museum *Khusraw u Shīrīn*,¹ and some of them at any rate are worthy of him. Contrasted with this superb manuscript is another copy of the same work dated Muḥarram 1029-December 1620 whose miniatures, rough and of poor quality, are nevertheless typical of the period, the style of Āqā Rīzā being not yet superseded by that of Rīzā-yi 'Abbāsī.

MS. no. 35, another *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī dated 1037-1628, is subscribed as having been copied by Mīr 'Alī " at Shīrāz the abode of grace ". The two double-page miniatures, at the beginning and end, are in good average Shāh 'Abbās style, and seem to indicate that Shīrāz work had by this time ceased to have any readily recognisable characteristics of its own. To the following year, 1038-1629, belongs an exquisite little *Kullīyāt* of 'Urfī (no. 908) in its original binding and in superb condition throughout, with splendid illuminations and two double-page miniatures, beginning and end, as in the previous manuscript, which it much resembles in style and format. But its magnificent quality inclines one to assign it to Iṣfahān the capital, and Shāh 'Abbās himself is easily recognisable (chiefly by his

¹ No. 364-1885. *Burlington Magazine*, xxxviii, 59 ff.

famous moustaches) as the central figure in the out-door court scene with which the manuscript opens.

Finally no. 909, a *Shāhnāma* dated 1st Jumāda 1060-May 1650, and copied by Yūsuf b. Maḥmūd Shāh b. Yūsuf, presents a melancholy picture of the debased state of Persian painting towards the close of the Safawid period. The numerous miniatures, roughly executed, are of comparatively small size, but are filled with large clumsy figures with "Shāh 'Abbās" moustaches, the whole effect being awkward and incompetent.

I have attempted in this article to give a general idea of the periods and styles of Persian painting represented in the John Rylands Library's manuscripts, and to indicate some of the problems they raise or to whose solution they contribute. I should like in conclusion to express my appreciation of the help and kindness I received from the Librarian and his Staff during the all-too-brief two days which I spent in the examination of this rich and interesting but almost unknown body of material.

MOSES AND THE DECALOGUE¹

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THE question of the origin of the Ten Commandments, like a great many other Old Testament questions, is a very vexed one, and widely different views have been held by different scholars. Common has been the ascription to the period of the prophets,² or even to the exilic age,³ and the denial of any real

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on Wednesday, the 14th of February, 1951.

² So A. Kuenen, *Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Origin and Composition of the Hexateuch*, E. Tr. by P. H. Wicksteed, 1886, pp. 244 f.; J. Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 2nd ed., 1895, p. 128; W. E. Addis, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, i, 1899, col. 1050; B. Baentsch, *Exodus-Leviticus* (H.K.), 1900, pp. 178 f. (cf. also *Das Bundesbuch*, 1892, pp. 92 ff.); H. Holzinger, *Exodus* (K.H.C.), 1900, pp. 69 ff.; J. C. Matthes, 'Der Dekalog', in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, xxiv, 1904, pp. 17 ff. (cf. G. Wildeboer, 'Die Datierung des Dekalogs', *ibid.*, pp. 296 ff.); G. Wildeboer, *Die Literatur des Alten Testaments*, 2nd ed., 1905, pp. 19 ff.; C. H. Cornill, *Einleitung in die kanonischen Bücher des Alten Testaments*, 5th ed., 1905, pp. 50 ff. (E. Tr. by G. H. Box, 1907, pp. 81 ff.); B. Stade, *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments*, i, 1905, pp. 36 f., 248 f.; A. H. McNeile, *The Book of Exodus* (W.C.), 2nd ed., 1917, pp. lvi ff.; W. R. Harper, *Amos and Hosea* (I.C.C.), 1910, pp. lviii ff.; G. F. Moore, *The Literature of the Old Testament*, 1913, 3rd reprint, 1928, p. 51 (2nd ed., rev. by L. H. Brockington, 1948, pp. 46 f.); H. P. Smith, *The Religion of Israel*, 1914, p. 187; W. Nowack, in *Abhandlungen zur semitischen Religionskunde und Sprachwissenschaft* (Baudissin Festschrift), 1918, pp. 381 ff.; A. Menes, *Die vorexilischen Gesetze Israels* (B.Z.A.W. 1), 1928, pp. 46 ff.; A. Lods, *Israël*, 1930, pp. 365 f. (E. Tr. by S. H. Hooke, 1932, pp. 315 f.), and *Histoire de la littérature hébraïque et juive*, 1950, p. 342; *La Bible du Centenaire*, i, 1941, p. 95; J. Morgenstern, *Universal Jewish Encyclopaedia*, iii, 1941, p. 510; J. N. Schofield, *The Religious Background of the Bible*, 1944, p. 144.

³ So C. Steuernagel, *Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 1912, pp. 259 ff.; G. Holscher, *Geschichte der israelitischen und jüdischen Religion*, 1922, p. 129 (exilic or post-exilic); S. Mowinkel, *Psalmstudien*, v, 1924, p. 112 (later abandoned); J. Meinhold, *Sabbat und Woche im Alten Testament*, 1905, pp. 37 ff., and *Der Dekalog*, 1927, pp. 13 ff. (cf. p. 15: 'ein jüngerer ziemlich künstliches Gebilde'); G. Beer, *Exodus* (H.A.T.), 1939, p. 103.

connexion between Moses and the Decalogue.¹ Nevertheless, not a few scholars have continued to accept the Mosaic origin of this code of conduct,² and in the last generation there has been a growing tendency to recognise that it may go back to Moses.³

¹ Cf. K. Budde, *Religion of Israel to the Exile*, 1899, p. 32, where it is maintained that if the Decalogue were of Mosaic origin, 'hardly anything could have remained for the prophets to do'.

² So H. Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 2nd ed., ii, 1853, pp. 22 f.; T. K. Cheyne, *Expositor*, 4th series, v, 1892, p. 109; A. Dillmann, *Handbuch der alttestamentlichen Theologie*, 1895, pp. 108, 228 f.; W. P. Paterson, in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, i, 1898, p. 581b; W. Lotz, in *Herzog-Hauck, Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, iv, 1898, pp. 562 f. (cf. *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, iii, 1909, p. 384b); G. L. Robinson, *The Decalogue and Criticism*, 1899; R. Kittel, *History of the Hebrews*, E. Tr. by J. Taylor, i, 1908, p. 244 (cf. 6th German ed., i, 1923, p. 383, and pp. 445 ff., the latter not in the E.Tr.); C. F. Burney, *Journal of Theological Studies*, ix, 1908, pp. 323 ff.; E. Kautzsch, in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, Extra Vol., 1909, p. 634b; B. D. Eerdmans, *Alttestamentliche Studien*, iii, 1910, pp. 131 ff.; S. R. Driver, *The Book of Exodus in R.V.* (Camb. B.), 1911, reprinted 1918, p. 415; W. Gressmann, *Mose und seine Zeit*, 1913, pp. 471 ff.; J. E. McFadyen, *Expositor*, 8th series, xi, 1916, pp. 152 ff., 222 ff., 311 ff., 334 ff., xii, 1916, pp. 37 ff., 105 ff., 210 ff.; G. A. Smith, *The Book of Deuteronomy in R.V.* (Camb. B.), 1918, p. 85; E. König, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, 1922, p. 271.

³ Cf. J. P. Peters, *The Religion of the Hebrews*, 1923, pp. 98 f.; R. H. Charles, *The Decalogue*, 1923, p. xlviii; E. Sellin, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, E. Tr. by W. Montgomery, 1923, pp. 40 f. (cf. 7th German ed., 1935, p. 25; 8th German ed., rev. by L. Rost, 1950, p. 39); H. Schmidt, *Eucharisterion* (Gunkel Festschrift), i, 1923, pp. 78 ff.; A. Gampert, *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie*, N.S. xiv, 1926, pp. 184 ff.; W. Herrmann, in *Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte und Archäologie Palästinas* (Sellin Festschrift), 1927, pp. 69 ff.; P. Volz, in Gunkel-Zscharnack, *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed., i, 1927, cols. 1816 ff., *Mose und sein Werk*, 2nd ed., 1932, pp. 20 ff., and *Prophetengestalten des Alten Testaments*, 1938, pp. 51 ff.; F. M. Th. Böhl, *Exodus* (Tekst en Uitleg), 1928, pp. 145 f.; L. Köhler, *Theologische Rundschau*, N.F. i, 1929, pp. 161 f.; W. Eberharder, *Der Dekalog*, 1930, and in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, ed. by L. Pirot, ii, 1934, cols. 341 ff.; J. M. Powis Smith, *The Origin and History of Hebrew Law*, 1931, pp. 3 ff.; A. C. Welch, *Deuteronomy: The Framework to the Code*, 1932, p. 192 (cf. also pp. 29 ff.); F. James, *Personalities of the Old Testament*, 1939, p. 29; A. Weiser, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 1939, p. 93 (2nd ed., 1949, pp. 94 f.); M. Buber, *Moses*, 1946, pp. 119 ff.; W. A. L. Elmslie, *How Came our Faith*, 1948, pp. 216 f. It should be added that in most of these cases no more than the possibility of Mosaic origin is maintained, though some go beyond this to varying degrees of probability. Other writers who do not exclude a Mosaic origin are Oesterley and Robinson, *Hebrew Religion: its Origin and Development*, 2nd ed., 1937, p. 168,

To this view I have more than once announced my adhesion.¹ The statement of a conclusion, however, is of less significance than the weight of the arguments that sustain it, and in the present lecture I wish to review the main outlines of the problem, and to show why I think all probability is in favour of this view. It will be observed at the outset that I claim only probability and not certainty for this view, though I think it has a high degree of probability.

In Exod. xx. 1-17 we have the most familiar form of the Decalogue. This is generally believed to have belonged to the Elohist, or E, document of the Pentateuch, that has commonly been dated in the eighth century B.C.—though, of course, the scholars who put the origin of the Decalogue later than this must hold that it is a later insertion in that document,² or bring the document itself down to a later date.³ Into this last question I cannot enter here, but must be content to say that I see no reason to come down later than *circa* 750 B.C. for the document E,

and A. Bentzen, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, ii, 1949, p. 55, while S. Spiegel, *Harvard Theological Review*, xxvii, 1934, pp. 140 ff., allows that the Decalogue is older than the ministry of Hosea. In some of the cases mentioned above certain commands are excluded from the original Code. Thus, H. Schmidt (*loc. cit.*, pp. 105 ff.) eliminates the fourth and fifth commandments, and divides the first to make up the number, while Powis Smith (*op. cit.*, p. 7 n.) finds it necessary to exclude the second commandment if the Mosaic origin of the rest is to be found possible (cf. T. J. Meek, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, lviii, 1938, pp. 126 f., for a criticism of this). Similarly L. W. Batten, in *Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, iv, 1911, pp. 513 ff., allows the Decalogue to be in substance Mosaic, with the exception of the second and possibly the first commandments. O. Procksch, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, 1950, p. 58, rejects Schmidt's view as improbable.

¹ Cf. *The Relevance of the Bible*, 1942, pp. 60 f.; *The Missionary Message of the Old Testament*, 1945, pp. 18 f.; *The Re-Discovery of the Old Testament*, 1946, pp. 85 ff. (American ed., pp. 120 ff.); *The Growth of the Old Testament*, 1950, p. 26; *The Biblical Doctrine of Election*, 1950, pp. 55 f.; *From Joseph to Joshua*, 1950, pp. 157 ff.

² So, e.g., B. Baentsch, *Exodus-Leviticus*, p. 178; Carpenter and Harford, *The Composition of the Hexateuch*, 1902, p. 223; C. Steuernagel, *op. cit.*, p. 154; G. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 84; S. Mowinkel, *Le Décalogue*, 1927, pp. 43 ff.; J. Meinhold, *Einführung in das Alte Testament*, 3rd ed., 1932, p. 196; *La Bible du Centenaire*, i, p. 95; R. H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, pp. 228 f.; F. V. Winnett, *The Mosaic Tradition*, 1949, p. 33.

³ Hölscher brings the E document down to the middle of the sixth century B.C. Cf. *Geschichte der israelitischen und jüdischen Religion*, p. 102.

and while I think there are evident traces of a later hand in the present text of the Decalogue, I do not think the whole passage is a later insertion.¹ Much attention has been paid in recent years to older sources on which the compilers of the main documents of the Pentateuch rested, and from which they quoted, and I hope to show reasons for the view that the Decalogue goes back far beyond the time of the compiler of the E document, so that it could well have been embodied in his work from an older source.

In Deut. v. 6-21 we find the Decalogue again, but while there is a general similarity, and in large part equation of the terms, there are some significant differences.² The most familiar and notable of these is in the fourth commandment,³ where, apart from other slight variations, we find the commandment reinforced in Exodus with the words: 'For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day; wherefore the Lord blessed the sabbath

¹ The fact that the Decalogue does not fit smoothly into its present place may be due to the fact that it was incorporated from an older source. The compiler of E may just as reasonably be supposed to have been responsible for this as a later redactor. S. Mowinkel, *Le Décalogue*, p. 18, observes that 'la plupart des critiques voient dans Ex. xx les conditions de l'alliance imposées à Israël selon E'. Amongst recent writers who have held that the Decalogue belonged originally to E are A. Campert, *loc. cit.*, p. 191, and W. Rudolph, in *Werden und Wesen des Alten Testaments* (B.Z.A.W. lxvi), ed. by J. Hempel, 1936, p. 43. Rudolph has more recently proposed the view that this Decalogue once belonged to J and stood in Exod. xxxiv before it was transferred to its present position (cf. *Der "Elohist" von Exodus bis Josua* (B.Z.A.W. lxviii), 1938, pp. 60 f., 276).

² The relation of the text of the Nash Papyrus to the texts now found in Exodus and Deuteronomy cannot be discussed here. Cf. S. A. Cook, 'A Pre-Massoretic Biblical Papyrus', in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, xxv, 1903, pp. 34 ff., and 'A Unique Biblical Papyrus', in *Expository Times*, xiv, 1902-1903, pp. 200 ff.; F. C. Burkitt, 'The Hebrew Papyrus of the Ten Commandments', in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, xv, 1903, pp. 392 ff., and 'The Nash Papyrus, a New Photograph', *ibid.*, xvi, 1904, pp. 559 ff.; I. Lévi, 'Un Papyrus biblique', in *Revue des Études juives*, xlvi, 1903, pp. 212 ff.; A. von Gall, 'Ein neuer hebräischer Text der Zehn Gebote und des Schmä', in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, xxiii, 1903, pp. 347 ff.; R. H. Charles, *The Decalogue*, pp. xiii ff.; W. F. Albright, 'A Biblical Fragment from the Maccabaeon Age: the Nash Papyrus', in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, lvi, 1937, pp. 145 ff.

³ The division of the Decalogue cannot here be discussed, and for the present purpose that adopted normally in the Anglican Church will be employed.

day and hallowed it', while in Deuteronomy it is reinforced with the words: 'And thou shalt remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and the Lord thy God brought thee out thence by a mighty hand and a stretched out arm: therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the sabbath day'¹.

Here we notice that the addition in Deuteronomy is in the characteristic style of the book of Deuteronomy,² while the addition in Exodus rests on the first Creation story.³ This latter is commonly assigned to the document P, or the Priestly Code, which is the latest of the Pentateuchal sources. It is improbable that a later hand than the Deuteronomist's made the addition in Deuteronomy in the style of Deuteronomy, and we seem justified therefore in saying that the Decalogue was either first composed by the author of Deuteronomy,⁴ or it antedated his time and was here reinforced by him in terms of his characteristic thought. As against the first of these alternatives, however, we

¹ Of other differences between the text of Exod. xx and Deut. v we may note the following: the fourth commandment begins 'Remember the sabbath day' in Exodus and 'Observe the sabbath day' in Deuteronomy, while the latter makes the additions 'as the Lord thy God commanded thee', 'nor thine ox, nor thine ass', and 'that thy manservant and thy maidservant may rest as well as thou'; in the fifth commandment Deuteronomy adds 'as the Lord thy God commanded thee', and 'that it may be well with thee'; in the ninth commandment a different word is used for 'false' in the two versions; in the tenth commandment Deuteronomy reverses the order of 'house' and 'wife' and uses a different word for the second 'covet' of the Exodus text, adding also 'his field'. Cf. S. R. Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, 9th ed., 1913, pp. 33 f.; C. A. Briggs, *The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*, 1897, pp. 181 ff.

² Cf. 'thou shalt remember' with Deut. vii. 18, viii. 2, 18, ix. 7, xvi. 3, xxiv. 9, xxv. 17, and the whole phrase 'thou shalt remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt' with Deut. xv. 15, xvi. 12, xxiv. 18, 22; 'with a mighty hand and a stretched out arm' with Deut. iv. 34, vi. 21, vii. 8, 19, ix. 26, 29, xi. 2, xxvi. 8; and 'as the Lord thy God commanded thee' with Deut. i. 19, ii. 37, iv. 5, 33, v. 12, 15, 16, 29, vi. 1, 20, xiii. 6, xx. 17. Similarly the additions mentioned in the preceding note find their parallels in idea and word elsewhere in Deuteronomy.

³ Cf. Gen. ii. 2 f.

⁴ So R. H. Kennett, *The Church of Israel*, 1933, p. 49; S. A. Cook, *ibid.*, p. xliii n.; R. H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, p. 229 (either the author of the D code or the Deuteronomists of 550 B.C., but preferably the former). H. Fuchs, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, xxiv, 1904, pp. 139 f., held that the second commandment could hardly be from the author of Deuteronomy, but should be attributed to a Deuteronomist of the exilic period.

note that the terms of the Decalogue as a whole are not characteristic of the style or thought of Deuteronomy,¹ and in particular the sabbath is not mentioned elsewhere in this book. Hence there is no reason to suppose that the Deuteronomist invented the Decalogue, and we may reasonably conclude that it is older than his time. As to the date of the compilation of Deuteronomy, there is again much difference of opinion, but the most probable view, and the one still most widely held, is that it was composed in the seventh century B.C.² I myself should put it in the early part of the century, in the reign of Manasseh. This would rule out an exilic date for the origin of the Decalogue, though it would still leave it just possible that Mowinckel was right in

¹ Individual phrases in the Decalogue in its forms both in Exodus and in Deuteronomy have been noted as probably bearing the stamp of Deuteronomy. Cf. C. A. Briggs, *The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*, pp. 186 f.; Carpenter and Harford, *The Composition of the Hexateuch*, p. 224; G. A. Smith, *Deuteronomy*, p. 82; R. H. Pfeiffer, *op. cit.*, p. 229. All of these phrases mark what are probably expansions of the original form of the Decalogue, and not the original form itself. They could have been added in Exodus under the influence of the Deuteronomic expansion just as easily as the addition that shows the influence of P.

² Deuteronomy is assigned to the time of Samuel by E. Robertson, *The Old Testament Problem, with two other Essays*, 1950, pp. 42 ff., 191 ff.; to the period of the early monarchy by T. Oestreicher, *Das deuteronomische Grundgesetz*, 1923 (with those arguments cf. W. Staerk, *Das Problem des Deuteronomiums*, 1924, and 'Noch einmal das Problem des Deuteronomiums', in *Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte und Archäologie Palästinas* (Sellin Festschrift), 1927, pp. 139 ff.), and A. C. Welch, *The Code of Deuteronomy*, 1924 (cf. also *Deuteronomy: The Framework to the Code*, 1932); to the exilic period by J. Cullen, *The Book of the Covenant in Moab*, 1903 (the present book of Deuteronomy is held to be the result of exilic and post-exilic redaction of the original law-book of Isaiah), R. H. Kennett, 'The Date of Deuteronomy', in *Journal of Theological Studies*, vii, 1906, pp. 481 ff., and *Deuteronomy and the Decalogue*, 1920 (reprinted in *The Church of Israel*, pp. 73 ff.), G. R. Berry, 'The Code found in the Temple', in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xxxix, 1920, pp. 44 ff., F. C. Burkitt, 'The Code found in the Temple', *ibid.*, xl, 1921, pp. 166 f., G. Hölscher, 'Komposition und Ursprung des Deuteronomiums', in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, xl, 1922, pp. 161 ff., F. Horst, 'Die Anfänge des Propheten Jeremia', *ibid.*, xli, 1923, pp. 94 ff., and 'Die Kulturreform des Königs Josia', in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, lxxvii, 1923, pp. 220 ff., W. Spiegelberg, 'Zur Datierung des Deuteronomiums', in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, xxvi, 1923, cols. 481 f., and J. N. Schofield, *The Historical Background of the Bible*, 1938, pp. 213 f., and 'The Significance of the Prophets for dating Deuteronomy', in *Studies in History and Religion presented to H. Wheeler Robinson*, 1942, pp. 44 ff.

suggesting that the disciples of Isaiah were responsible for the formulation of this code of conduct.¹ If the composition of Deuteronomy is rightly assigned to the early part of the reign of Manasseh, however, this would mean that the Decalogue was practically contemporary with the composition of Deuteronomy.

That the Decalogue is older than either its Deuteronomic form or its form in Exodus may be reinforced by another consideration.² In both passages it is treated as authoritative, and peculiarly fundamental to Israel's religion. If either of the present forms of the fourth commandment were so accepted before the other was composed, it is improbable that so notable a change would have been made in the other version. It is probable, therefore, that the original commands, to which particular sanctity would attach, are to be sought in the common elements of the two forms, so that in each case the reinforcement is not an alteration of something that belonged to the sacred text, but a parenthetic addition. The original commands were therefore probably all short, as most of those in the second half still are. This is, of course, no new suggestion, but one that has long been generally accepted.³ Since the addition to the fourth commandment in Exodus seems to depend on the late document P, it

¹ Cf. 'L'Origine du Décalogue', in *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses*, vi, 1926, pp. 409 ff., 501 ff.; *Jesaja-disiplene*, 1926, pp. 77 ff.; *Le Décalogue*, 1927; and *Det Gamle Testamente* (Michelet-Mowinkel-Messel), i, 1929, p. 149.

² A. Bentzen, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, ii. p. 53, thinks the fact that its teaching on retribution does not agree with that of Deuteronomy (cf. Deut. xxiv. 16) indicates that the Decalogue is older than D. G. A. Smith, *Deuteronomy*, p. 84, thinks it is older than both E and D, while W. Rudolph, in *Werden und Wesen des Alten Testaments*, p. 43, goes farther and pronounces it older than J and E.

³ There is substantial agreement amongst scholars as to the probable form of the original commandments. It has been noted above that H. Schmidt eliminates the fourth and fifth commands and divides the first to yield a series of commands of a common form. A. Jirku, *Das weltliche Recht im Alten Testament*, 1927, pp. 150 ff., similarly thinks all the commands were of a common form, but holds that there were originally fewer than ten. K. Rabast, *Das apodiktische Recht im Deuteronomium und im Heiligkeitgesetz*, 1949, pp. 34 ff., casts the fourth and fifth commands in the form 'Thou shalt do no work on the sabbath' and 'Thou shalt not curse thy father and mother', and imports the command 'Thou shalt not worship them' to follow the prohibition of images. The number ten is then maintained by making 'I am the Lord thy God; Thou shalt have no other god beside me' into the preamble. In giving a negative

is probable that the Decalogue once stood in shorter form in Exodus than it now has. Even in its original form in Exodus, it may have been somewhat expanded from its first form, so that the maintenance of the Mosaic origin of the Decalogue does not extend to every word of either of the present forms, or even of the common portions, but only to the substance of the commands.

In Ex. xxxiv. 14-28 we have a further table of commandments, terminating with the words: 'And he wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, the ten commandments'.¹

form to the fourth and fifth commands Rabast here follows E. Sellin, *Geschichte des israelitisch-jüdischen Volkes*, 2nd ed., i, 1935, p. 84. Cf. also A. Alt, *Die Ursprünge des israelitischen Rechts*, 1934, p. 53. O. Procksch, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, 1950, p. 85, pronounces this view 'unbeweisbar und sachlich ohne Bedeutung'. W. Nowack, in *Abhandlungen zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte usw.*, p. 383 n. suggests the possibility that the first command originally had the form 'Thou shalt not worship another god', now preserved in Exod. xxxiv. 14.

¹ It is frequently held that the words 'the ten commandments' are an addition to the text. So, e.g. J. A. Bewer, *The Literature of the Old Testament in its Historical Development*, 1922, p. 41. It is nevertheless commonly held that this chapter contains another Decalogue. W. Rudolph, *Der "Elohist" von Exodus bis Josua*, 1938, p. 59 n., says 'the ten commandments' cannot be a gloss, but he thinks the Decalogue of Exod. xx once stood in this chapter. In modern times Goethe was the first to recognise a Decalogue in Exod. xxxiv, in his *Zwo wichtige bisher unerörterte Fragen*, 1773 (cf. Weimar edition, xxxvii, 1896, pp. 175 ff.), but he was anticipated long earlier by a Greek writer of the fifth century (cf. E. Nestle, 'Ein Vorgänger Goethe's über den zweiten Dekalog', in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, xxiv, 1904, pp. 134 f.) Various other Decalogues have been added to these two in modern times. Thus Morgenstern, *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, iii, pp. 506 ff., detects no less than five. Of these the first is that contained in Exod. xxxiv, which he associates with the reform of Asa and dates 899 B.C. (cf. *The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch* (reprinted from *Hebrew Union College Annual*, iv), 1927, pp. 98 ff.; *Amos Studies*, i (reprinted from *Heb. Un. Coll. Ann.*, xi, xii-xiii, xv), 1941, pp. 236 ff.; *Heb. Un. Coll. Ann.*, xxi, 1948, pp. 378, 474 ff.); the second is contained in Exod. xx. 23-26, xxiii. 10-19, which he ascribes to the time of Jehu's revolution in the northern kingdom (on this see below); the third is the Decalogue of Exod. xx and Deut. v, which he assigns to the time of Hezekiah or Josiah; the fourth is contained in Lev. xix. 2-18, which he dates in post-exilic times (cf. C. H. Cornill, in *Studien zur semitischen Philologie und Religionsgeschichte* (Wellhausen Festschrift), ed. by K. Marti (B.Z.A.W. xxvii), 1914, pp. 112 f.; N. Messel, *Det Gamle Testamente* (Michelet-Mowinckel-Messel), i, p. 238; S. Mowinckel, in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, N.F. xiv, 1937, pp. 218 ff.); and the fifth is contained in Deut. xxvii. 15-26, and assigned to the fifth century

Within these verses we find twelve, or perhaps thirteen, commandments,¹ however, instead of ten, and scholars differ in their views as to which were the original ten and which were the

B.C. (cf. S. Mowinckel, *Psalmestudien*, v, pp. 107 ff.; E. Sellin, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, pp. 46 f., 7th German ed., pp. 29 ff., 8th German ed., rev. by L. Rost, p. 43). H. Gressmann, *Die älteste Geschichtsschreibung und Prophetie Israels* (S.A.T., II. i), 1910, pp. 234 ff., distinguishes three Decalogues, corresponding to the first, third and fifth of Morgenstern's, and R. B. Y. Scott, *The Relevance of the Prophets*, 1944, p. 59, four corresponding to the first, third, fourth and fifth of Morgenstern's, and suggests that they were the forms preserved at various sanctuaries. L. B. Paton, 'The Original Form of the Book of the Covenant', in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xii, 1893, pp. 79 ff., found no less than ten decalogues in the Book of the Covenant, each divided symmetrically into two tables of five laws each.

¹ These are :

1. Thou shalt worship no other god (vs. 14) ;
2. Thou shalt make thee no molten gods (vs. 17) ;
3. The feast of unleavened bread thou shalt keep (vs. 18) ;
4. All that openeth the womb is mine (vs. 19) ;
5. None shall appear before me empty (vs. 20) ;
6. Six days shalt thou work, but on the seventh day thou shalt rest (vs. 21) ;
7. Thou shalt observe the feast of weeks, and the feast of ingathering at the year's end (vs. 22)—possibly two commands ;
8. Three times in the year shall all thy males appear before the Lord (vs. 23) ;
9. Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread (vs. 25) ;
10. The sacrifice of the feast of the passover shall not be left over unto the morning (vs. 25) ;
11. The first of the first fruits of thy ground thou shalt bring unto the house of the Lord thy God (vs. 26) ;
12. Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk (vs. 26).

Parallels to these commands are found embedded in the Book of the Covenant, and it is common to detect a scattered E Decalogue, corresponding to the second of Morgenstern's Decalogues mentioned in the preceding note, parallel to the J Decalogue of Exod. xxxiv. Cf. L. B. Paton, *loc. cit.*, pp. 88 f. (Exod. xx. 23-26, xxii. 27-30, xxiii. 10-19) ; B. Baentsch, *Exodus-Leviticus*, p. 185 (Exod. xx. 22-26, xxii. 27-29, xxiii. 10-15) ; R. H. Kennett, in *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, ed. by H. B. Swete, 1909, pp. 96 ff. (Exod. xx. 23, xxii. 28-30, xxiii. 12-19) ; A. H. McNeile, *Exodus*, p. xxviii (Exod. xx. 22-26, xxii. 29-31, xxiii. 10-19) ; A. Lods, *Israël*, p. 366 (E. Tr., p. 315) (Exod. xx. 23-26, xxii. 28 f., xxiii. 10-19) ; J. Meinhold, *Einführung in das Alte Testament*, p. 196 (Exod. xx. 23-26, xxiii. 13b-19) ; O. Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, p. 243 (Exod. xxiii. 11-19) ; F. V. Winnett, *The Mosaic Tradition*, pp. 30 ff. (Exod. xx. 23-26, and xxiii. 10-19). Cf. also R. H. Pfeiffer, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xliii, 1924, pp. 299 ff., *Harvard Theological Review*, xxiv, 1931, pp. 99 ff., and *Introduction to the Old Testament*, p. 221, where a rearrangement and reconstruction of the oldest Decalogue is attempted ; and the Table in A. Jepsen, *Untersuchungen zum Bundesbuch*, 1927, p. 108.

additions.¹ Any precise determination of this question need not concern us here, since it is not this Decalogue which we are primarily studying.² It is generally held to stand in the oldest

¹ Of the innumerable discussions of this Decalogue the following may be mentioned: J. Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 2nd ed., p. 96 n., and *Die Composition des Hexateuchs*, 3rd ed., 1899, pp. 333 f.; R. Smend, *Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte*, 2nd ed., 1899, pp. 280 f. n.; W. E. Addis, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, i, col. 1050; G. L. Robinson, *The Decalogue and Criticism*, pp. 20 f.; B. Baentsch, *Exodus-Leviticus*, p. 284; H. Holzinger, *Exodus* (K.H.C.), pp. 119 f., and in Kautzsch-Bertholet, *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*, 4th ed., i, 1922, pp. 153 f.; B. Stade, *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments*, pp. 197 f.; W. E. Barnes, 'The Ten Words of Ex. xxxiv', in *Journal of Theological Studies*, vi, 1905, pp. 557 ff.; A. C. Knudson, 'The so-called J Decalogue', in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xxviii, 1909, pp. 82 ff.; R. H. Kennett, in *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, pp. 95 ff., and *The Church of Israel*, pp. 17 f.; G. Beer, *Pesachim* (in *Die Mischna*, ed. by Beer), 1912, pp. 23 ff., and *Exodus*, p. 161; C. H. Cornill, in *Studien zur semitischen Philologie usw.*, pp. 109 ff.; H. P. Smith, *The Religion of Israel*, p. 111; A. H. McNeile, *Exodus*, p. 218; G. Hölscher, *Geschichte der israelitischen und jüdischen Religion*, 1922, p. 130; O. Eissfeldt, *Hexateuch-Synopse*, 1922, pp. 158* f.; R. H. Pfeiffer, 'The Oldest Decalogue', in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xliii, 1924, pp. 294 ff.; J. Morgenstern, *The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch*, pp. 54 ff.; C. F. Kent, *The Growth and Contents of the Old Testament*, 1926, pp. 175 ff.; S. Mowinkel, *Le Décalogue*, pp. 19 ff.; R. H. Charles, *The Decalogue*, pp. lix f. n.; L. Köhler, *Theologische Rundschau*, N.F. i, 1929, pp. 166 f.; J. M. Powis Smith, *The Origin and History of Jewish Law*, pp. 35 f.; G. B. Gray, *Journal of Theological Studies*, xxxvii, 1936, pp. 245 ff.; *La Bible du Centenaire*, i, p. 122; A. Lods, *Histoire de la littérature hébraïque et juive*, pp. 200 f.; F. V. Winnett, *The Mosaic Tradition*, pp. 50 ff.

² Of the twelve (or thirteen, if No. 7 is regarded as two) commands set out above (p. 89, n. 1), the following eliminations to reduce to ten are made by the scholars named in the preceding note: 5, 6, and 8 by Wellhausen, Addis, G. L. Robinson, and Holzinger; 3, 6, and 8 by Cornill and *La Bible du Centenaire* (both also reading for No. 5: 'All the firstborn of thy sons thou shalt redeem', vs. 20); 6 and 8 by Smend; 4, 5, and 8 by Stade; 2 and 5 by Goethe; 2, 5, and 8 by Kennett; 5 and 8 by Kent and Winnett; 3, 5, 8, and 11 by Morgenstern (who reduces the total to eight; more recently, however, he recognises that it was originally a Decalogue and eliminates, 5, 8, and 11, but adds as a separate command: 'in ploughing time and in harvest thou shalt rest'. Cf. *Hebrew Union College Annual*, xxi, 1948, p. 476); 8 and 10 by Köhler; 7 and 8 by Powis Smith (who reads No. 5 as *La Bible du Centenaire*); 4, 5, and 6 by Hölscher; 5 and 6 by Eissfeldt; 1 and 6 by McNeile; 5 and 7 by H. P. Smith; 3 and 5 by Baentsch; 3 and 7 by Beer, Berry, Mowinkel and Gray. For further older varieties of eliminations, cf. A. C. Knudson, *loc. cit.*, p. 87. The wide varieties of opinion are manifest, and it is not without reason that C. F. Burney says: 'The variations in the form in which the code is presented to us as a code of ten commandments are nearly as numerous as the critics who attempted to cope with the problem

source of the Pentateuch,¹ a source which is older than the E source, therefore, or the D source, with which we have been so far concerned. Here, then, we have evidence of a Decalogue going back very far into the pre-exilic period, for this early document is commonly dated in the middle of the ninth century B.C.² It is here, however, that we find ourselves in the heart of our problem. For this Decalogue, however we delimit its ten terms, appears to be a much more primitive document than the other Decalogue which we are considering. Some of its terms are closely similar to those of the other Decalogue in substance. There is the insistence that Yahweh alone shall be served, and that idols must not be tolerated. There is the law of the Sabbath: 'Six days shalt thou work, but on the seventh day thou shalt rest: in ploughing time and in harvest thou shalt rest'. But here we find none of the ethical commandments which are

and to find its solution' (*Journal of Theological Studies*, ix, 1908, p. 332). In my view the last of the above cited opinions is the most probable. The three festivals mentioned in 3 and 7 are all agricultural festivals, likely to have been added to a nomadic code to adapt it to settled life. It is improbable that 8 would have been added after the three occasions had been separately specified, when it could only refer to them, whereas it is not improbable that an unspecified three occasions going back to nomadic times should have been later increased by the addition of agricultural festivals, and then interpreted in terms of them.

¹ This is generally called the J source. Within that source various strata are often distinguished, and by some scholars this Decalogue is attributed to the later of them. Morgenstern distinguished a K, or Kenite, source, older than the J source, and ascribed this Decalogue to that earliest of all the sources. Similarly N. Messel, *loc. cit.*, p. 186, says that this is the oldest known form of the Decalogue. G. F. Moore, in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, ii, 1901, col. 1446, says it is certainly older than its setting, and holds that 'we may safely assume that this collection of sacred laws was made at a Judæan sanctuary, and that it represents the ancient usage of the region'. O. Eissfeldt, who like Morgenstern distinguished an older source than J, does not attribute this Decalogue to that older source, but to J (cf. *Hexateuch-Synopse*, pp. 158* f.). Not a few scholars, however, hold that this Decalogue is late and secondary, and declare it rather a collection of fragments from the Book of the Covenant than a Decalogue at all. Cf. B. D. Eerdmans, *Alttestamentliche Studien*, iii, 1910, pp. 85 ff.; R. H. Pfeiffer, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xliii, 1924, pp. 294 ff., and *Introduction to the Old Testament*, pp. 224 f.; P. Heinisch, *Das Buch Exodus* (H.S.A. Tes.), 1934, p. 243; A. Alt, *Die Ursprünge des israelitischen Rechts*, p. 52 n.; W. Rudolph, *Der "Elohist" von Exodus bis Josua*, p. 59; F. V. Winnett, *The Mosaic Tradition*, p. 54; E. Robertson, *The Old Testament Problem*, 1950, p. 94.

² Morgenstern dates it at the beginning of the ninth century.

characteristic of the other Decalogue, no injunction to honour parents, or prohibition of murder, adultery, theft, false witness, or covetousness. Instead we find purely ritual commands: 'All that openeth the womb is mine. . . . Three times in the year shall all thy males appear before the Lord . . . Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread . . . Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk.' A recent writer has maintained that this Decalogue was composed by the compiler of the Priestly Code,¹ and earlier writers had noted that the interest in ritual is characteristic of the late, as well as of the early, period.² Here it is to be observed that if the compiler of P had created a Decalogue, its expansion to twelve or thirteen commands would have to be put even later. Moreover, while the compiler of the Priestly Code was certainly interested in ritual, he was also interested in the ethical principles for which the prophets had stood, and it is very unlikely that he would have stripped the Ethical Decalogue of its ethical content in order to create this. Further, the fact that in Exod. xx we find the Ethical Decalogue with the expansion showing the influence of P, to which reference has been made, is evidence that the circles interested in the Priestly Code had not ceased to be interested in that Decalogue. Yet again, the whole flavour of this table is primitive, and its ritual interest does not carry the stamp of P. The addition to the fourth commandment of the other Decalogue in the form it has in Exod. xx does bear the stamp of P, and by the same token we must decline to find the hand of P here.

If, however, we recognise the table of Exod. xxxiv to be primitive in form and early in date, are we not forced to date the Decalogue of Exod. xx and Deut. v, in its original form, much later? If Israel already had the higher Decalogue, is it conceivable that it would ever have been superseded by this lower form?

¹ Cf. Winnett, *op. cit.*, pp. 30 ff. In Winnett's view the original Mosaic Decalogue is embedded in the Book of the Covenant in Exod. xx. 23-26, xxiii, 10-19. This was displaced by P to make way for his modification of D's Decalogue, and distributed to its present position. Surprisingly enough, Winnett holds that P then created the Decalogue of Exod. xxxiv, which is merely a modified collection of the one he had displaced and distributed.

² Cf. J. E. McFadyen, *Expositor*, 8th series, xi, 1916, pp. 152 ff.

If the Ethical Decalogue really went back to Moses, whose authority would have sufficed to replace it by the Ritual Decalogue? While we must beware of supposing that religious development is always in a straight line from the lower to the higher, I would agree that there is much force in these questions. The fallacy of the argument lies, however, in its assumption of a single line of tradition and of development in Israelite religion. Where that assumption is made it is pointed out that even this Ritual Decalogue, in its present form, would appear to presuppose residence in Canaan, and therefore to be post-Mosaic. There are references to ploughing and harvesting, to first fruits of the ground, and to agricultural festivals. These belong to the life of a settled people, and not to a company of nomads.¹ Yet if this primitive table is post-Mosaic, we seem to be forced down to an even later time for the more developed ethical table.²

Here many things call for notice. In the first place, it is possible that the expansion from ten to twelve or thirteen commandments may have been due to the adaptation of the ritual code of a nomadic people to settled conditions.³ The change from a ritual to an ethical code would not come about of itself; the change from a nomadic code to an agricultural one would tend to be determined by new conditions. For the one change a leader of prophetic personality would be required; for the other adaptation to changed conditions alone would be required.

¹ In the same way it is frequently emphasised that some of the terms of the Decalogue of Exod. xx presuppose settled conditions. Cf., e.g., Matthes, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, xxiv, 1904, pp. 20 ff. Here it is to be noted, however, that the terms which are used for this purpose belong to what are commonly regarded as the expansions of the original Decalogue. They are therefore invalid as evidence concerning its original form. Matthes (p. 24) anticipates that this answer will be given, but dismisses it. The recognition of expansions in the Decalogue is not dictated by the wish to get rid of these references, however, but by the clear evidence of the comparison of the text in Exodus with that in Deuteronomy that there have been some expansions, and the probability that the commands of the first table were short, like those of the second.

² So, e.g., R. Smend, *op. cit.*, p. 43 n., and W. E. Addis, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, i, col. 1051, argue that the Decalogue of Exod. xxxiv is post-Mosaic, and (Smend, p. 284; Addis, col. 1050) that the Decalogue of Exod. xx must be later than that of Exod. xxxiv.

³ It is here that I find the reason for the eliminations of the secondary elements which I have noted above.

A nomadic people that came to settle amongst an agricultural people would tend to take over practices, as well as occupations, from its neighbours, and to add them to its own traditions and relate them to its own religion. Hence the Ritual Decalogue probably runs back to the pre-Settlement period for its original form. It may even go back to the pre-Settlement period for some of its agricultural references. For it has to be remembered that a nomadic people may grow some crops during a temporary settlement in a district, and the Biblical tradition records a sojourn of no less than thirty eight years at Kadesh.¹

Again we may observe that both the Ritual and the Ethical Decalogue are related to the worship of Yahweh. It would therefore seem that it was characteristic of the worship of this God to have a code of ten fundamental laws even before the time of the Settlement of Israel in Canaan. There is reason to believe, therefore, that a Decalogue of some kind existed as early as the time of Moses. This still leaves open the question whether it was the primitive Decalogue which Moses could have given to Israel, or whether it could have been the higher one; it leaves open also the relation of the one to the other.

T. H. Robinson has said: 'Whether these commandments'—i.e. the familiar Ten Commandments—'are the work of Moses or not, they do represent very fairly the general moral standard which we may ascribe to Israel in the days preceding the Settlement. There are two matters which are vital to the existence of a pastoral clan, that which finds expression in the laws of marriage and that which is covered by the law of murder.'² This very general consideration would seem to make possible the ascription of the Decalogue to Moses, but to diminish its significance. For if the ethical standards on which it insists are but those which are common to tribes whose life is passed in given conditions, Moses could be dispensed with in their formulation. It is, of course, true that the sanctity of marriage and of life is widely recognised amongst men, and often the most primitive tribes will have the most rigid codes on these things.

¹ Cf. S. R. Driver, *Deuteronomy* (I.C.C.), 2nd ed., 1896, pp. 31 ff.

² Cf. *Hebrew Religion*, 2nd ed., p. 168. On the other side see W. Nowack, in *Abhandlungen zur semitischen Religionskunde usw.*, p. 395.

The prohibition of stealing may be less important in their eyes, and false witness may rank much lower in the scale of sins, while covetousness may not be reckoned a sin at all. The Ethical Decalogue deserves that name because it is so much wider in its ethical demands than might be expected merely in view of the social conditions of the time, and because it penetrates beneath action to its spring in motive.

It is difficult to suppose that Moses gave Israel both the Ritual Decalogue and the Ethical. That he could have given ritual and moral commands would occasion no surprise, but the overlap between the two lists makes it hard to believe that the same leader issued both as complementary lists. One would appear to have been composed to replace the other. If, then, we have said there is reason to suppose that the Ritual Decalogue existed before the Settlement in Canaan, does this not mean that the more significant Ten Commandments must be denied to Moses? If both are related to the worship of Yahweh, and both cannot be ascribed to Moses, can we not at most credit him with the one which points so much more clearly to his age and reserve the other for the prophetic period, when ethical principles were so strongly insisted on?

Without for one moment minimising the greatness of the eighth century prophets, or their ethical teaching of the corollaries of Yahwism, I would observe that Yahwism did not begin to be ethical in the eighth century B.C. About the beginning of the tenth century we find Nathan rebuking David for his adultery with Bath-sheba, when the law: 'Thou shalt not commit adultery' was already presupposed, and was regarded as authoritative for a king no less than for his subjects. When later Naboth was judicially murdered with the help of false witnesses set up by a queen, we again find courageous prophetic denunciation expressing ethical teaching. In both of these cases we have prophets of Yahweh, speaking in the name of their God, and declaring the ethical implications of Israel's religion. They were not standing for the rights of man, but for the will of God, for in their view man's rights were sacred because they rested on the will of God. Neither prophet spoke as though he were enunciating some new principle, which the kings might

be excused for not knowing before. The sting of their rebuke was in their appeal to the conscience of the kings, and to standards which ought to have been recognised. Surely there is no need to come down to the eighth century before there is reason to suspect the existence of anything but a ritual code.¹

We must now turn to examine the origins of the worship of Yahweh. It is sometimes thought that the Bible teaches that the name was first revealed to Moses. This is nowhere stated in the Bible. It is stated that at the call of Moses at the Burning Bush he asked the God who commissioned him to go into Egypt in Whose name he should present himself to Israel, and the name Yahweh was then given to him.² It is not said that this was the first time the name was known amongst men. It is not even said that Moses had never heard the name before. Again, in Exod. vi. 2 f. we read that God spake to Moses and said: 'I am Yahweh: and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, as El Shaddai, but by my name Yahweh I was not known to them.' It is not said that the name Yahweh was unknown to men, but that the patriarchs did not worship

¹ Cf. A. Clamer, *La Sainte Bible*, ed. by Pirot and Clamer, ii, 1946, p. 551 b: 'N'est-ce pas au nom des antiques prohibitions du Décalogue que le prophète Nathan reproche à David son adultère et son meurtre, et que le prophète Elie menace d'un terrible châtement le roi Achab pour avoir tué et volé?' References to the Decalogue are commonly found in Hos. iv. 2 and Jer. vii. 9, the former of which stands on the lips of a prophet who antedated the Decalogue in the opinion of many scholars, and the latter of which stands on the lips of a prophet who lived earlier than some others date the Decalogue. Hosea says 'There is nought but swearing and breaking faith, and killing, and stealing, and committing adultery; they break out, and blood toucheth blood.' B. Duhm, *Die Theologie der Propheten*, 1875, p. 141, saw here an echo of the Decalogue, and so J. P. Peters, *The Religion of the Hebrews*, 1923, p. 102, and G. Ostborn, *Tôrā in the Old Testament*, 1945, p. 140. I. G. Matthews, *The Religious Pilgrimage of Israel*, 1947, p. 128 n., asks if this was the basis of a later formulation in the Decalogue. Jeremiah says: 'Will ye steal, murder, and commit adultery, and swear falsely, and burn incense unto Baal, and walk after other gods whom ye have not known?' It is hard to suppose that new principles were here being enunciated by either Hosea or Jeremiah, for all of these offences had found prophetic condemnation before their day. The reference to the Sabbath in Jer. xvii. 19-27 is by most scholars rejected from the genuine Jeremianic material in the book. W. E. Barnes, 'Prophecy and the Sabbath', in *Journal of Theological Studies*, xxix, 1928, pp. 386 ff., argues, however, for its genuineness.

² Exod. vi. 13 ff.

God by this name. On the other hand there are passages in the Bible which state quite definitely that God was worshipped by the name Yahweh before the days of Moses. Here I am not thinking of passages which stand in direct contradiction of Exod. vi. 2 f., such as those in which God is represented as saying to the patriarchs 'I am Yahweh', in direct disagreement with the statement that He was not known to them by this name.¹ I am thinking of such a passage as Gen. iv. 26, where it is said explicitly that in the days of Seth, the son of Adam, men began to call on the name of Yahweh. Even earlier in the same chapter we read that the name of Yahweh was on the lips of Eve when she gave birth to Cain, and when Cain was driven forth he bore the sign of Yahweh upon him. Nowhere is it said that with Moses this name was first heard amongst men. It is said that to the Israelites in Egypt it would be a new name for their God.

It has long been held very widely that Yahweh was the God whom the father-in-law of Moses served as priest.² This is not directly stated in the Bible, and can at most be said to be a probable view.³ There are many scholars who reject

¹ Gen. xv. 7, xxviii. 13.

² That the divine name Yahweh antedated the revelation to Moses is supported by his mother's name, Jochebed. This appears to be compounded with the divine name Yahweh. Doubt has been thrown on this (cf. G. B. Gray, *Hebrew Proper Names*, 1896, p. 156, and M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen*, 1928, p. 111), and the name has been regarded as of doubtful authenticity since we find it only in the late source P (so J. M. Powis Smith, in *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, xxxv, 1918-1919, p. 15; against this, however, cf. T. J. Meek, *Hebrew Origins*, 2nd ed., 1950, p. 97). I find no reason to doubt the authenticity of the name, or to explain away its form, and think it indicates that in the ancestry of Moses there was a Yahweh-worshipping strain on his mother's side. When Moses was forced to flee from Egypt, it would be most natural for him to flee to his mother's kindred, as Jacob did before him. His mother's name, therefore, offers support rather than embarrassment to the view that the father-in-law of Moses was a priest of Yahweh. For an explanation of the way Moses could have come to have a mother in whose veins some Kenite blood ran, cf. my *Schweich Lectures, From Joseph to Joshua*, 1950, pp. 159 f.

³ The scholars who have adopted this view include B. Stade, *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments*, i, pp. 42 f.; K. Budde, *Religion of Israel to the Exile*, 1899, pp. 17 ff., and *Journal of Theological Studies*, xxx, 1929, p. 11; T. K. Cheyne in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, iii, 1902, col. 3208; G. A. Barton, *A Sketch of Semitic Origins*, 1902, pp. 272 f., 275 ff., and *Semitic and Hamitic Origins*, 1934, pp. 332 f.; C. F. Burney, *Journal of Theological Studies*, ix, 1908, pp. 337 f.; B. D. Eerdmans,

it,¹ but to those who accept it—and amongst them I am to be numbered—it seems to offer the clue to the understanding of not a little in the Old Testament.² It makes sense of the statements that Yahweh was worshipped from the beginning of time but that He was not worshipped under that name by the patriarchs. It also offers an explanation as to how the southern and the central tribes of Israel all came to worship Yahweh. That the Israelites came into Palestine in at least two waves of incursion, only one of which was under the leadership of Moses and Joshua, is widely agreed amongst scholars, even though there is disagreement as to the order and date of the incursions. The view which seems to me most probable, and for which I have argued at length,³ places the entry of a group of tribes from the south long before the time of Moses, and holds that while most of these remained continuously in the land thereafter, a small group of them was dislodged from the Shechem area and went into Egypt. Later they came out under the leadership of Moses and after his death were led by Joshua into Central Palestine. The leading elements of this group were now the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, which had been formed during the sojourn in Egypt. If this view is correct, then we could understand how Moses could bring to this group the divine name

Alttestamentliche Studien, ii, 1908, pp. 44 ff., and *The Religion of Israel*, 1947, pp. 14 ff.; H. P. Smith, *Old Testament History*, 1911, p. 57; H. Gressmann, *Mose und seine Zeit*, 1913, pp. 434 f., 447 ff.; J. Morgenstern, *The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch* (*Hebrew Union College Annual*, iv), 1927, pp. 44 ff., and *The Ark, the Ephod, and the "Tent of Meeting"*, 1945, p. 154 n.; G. Beer, *Welches war die älteste Religion Israels?* 1927, p. 16; W. Vischer, *Jahwe der Gott Kains*, 1929; A. Lods, *Israël*, 1930, pp. 367 f., 370 ff. (E. Tr., pp. 317 f., 320 ff.); H. Schmökel, 'Jahwe und die Keniter', in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, lii, 1933, pp. 212 ff.; E. A. Leslie, *Old Testament Religion*, 1936, pp. 78 ff.; Oesterley and Robinson, *Hebrew Religion*, 2nd ed., 1937, pp. 148 ff., 156; A. J. Wensinck, 'De oorsprongen van het Jahwisme', in *Semietische Studiën uit de Nalatenschap van A. J. Wensinck*, 1941, pp. 23 ff.; M. Noth, *Evangelische Theologie*, 1946, p. 309.

¹ So, amongst others, A. R. Gordon, *The Early Traditions of Genesis*, 1907, pp. 106 ff.; E. König, *Geschichte der alttestamentliche Religion*, 1912, pp. 162 ff.; P. Volz, *Mose und sein Werk*, 2nd ed., 1932, p. 59; W. J. Phythian-Adams, *The Call of Israel*, 1934, pp. 72 ff.; T. J. Meek, *Hebrew Origins*, 2nd ed., 1950, pp. 94 ff.; M. Buber, *Moses*, 1947, pp. 94 ff.; F. V. Winnett, *The Mosaic Tradition*, 1949, p. 69.

² Cf. *From Joseph to Joshua*, pp. 149 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 109 ff.

Yahweh, which was hitherto unknown to them as the name of their God and why this group in their traditions should say that the name Yahweh was not the name under which God was worshipped in Israel before the days of Moses. We are then left with the problem of explaining how the other group, that was not led by Moses, came to worship Yahweh. Here we observe that associated with Judah were Kenite groups that were akin to the father-in-law of Moses. If these were Yahweh-worshipping groups, we could understand how the worship of Yahweh could spread gradually from them throughout the whole of the associated tribes, until all were Yahweh-worshipping, but without the memory of a particular moment when the worship began in a dramatic experience of consecration. This association of tribes became absorbed into the Kenite worship, and consequently accepted the Kenite tradition that the worship of Yahweh had been practised from time immemorial. Hence in the southern traditions the beginning of the worship of God under this name is not ascribed to Moses, but pushed back to the beginning of time. From the tribe into which Moses married the name of Yahweh could have come to both southern and central groups of tribes at different times and in different ways, and the differences of the ways is reflected in the difference of their traditions.

I have already said that there seems reason to believe that some form of Decalogue was associated with the worship of Yahweh as far back as it is known. We now note that the primitive Decalogue of Exod. xxxiv was preserved for us in the traditions of the southern group, and it is probable that this represents the ancient Decalogue of the Kenites,¹ save in so far as it has been modified by the conditions of settled life, and that the southern tribes took it over from their Kenite associates as they took over their religion. Here no great prophetic personality brought about the adoption of the new religion, and no ever-memorable experience was associated with it. Hence it was taken over at the primitive level.

The group of tribes that was led by Moses, however, came to its Yahwism very differently. In the name of Yahweh Moses

¹ Cf. the view of Morgenstern, *The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch*, pp. 54 ff.

went to them in Egypt and told them that Yahweh could deliver them. By His power he led them out. They then went to the sacred mount, where they solemnly pledged themselves in the Covenant to the God Who had so signally delivered them. Here we do not have the gradual permeation of the group of tribes by the worship of Yahweh, but a solemn act of collective consecration, which could naturally give rise to the tradition of a definite historic moment when the worship of Yahweh under that name began in Israel. More important than the name of the deity is the character of the religion, and there is every reason to think that Moses gave a new character to Yahwism as compared with Kenite Yahwism. The change from the primitive Decalogue to the Ethical Decalogue is most naturally to be associated with some great prophetic personality, and Moses would supply the personality, and the circumstances of the time the occasion, better than any other individual or time of which we have knowledge. Inevitably the worship of Yahweh would have a significance for Israel that it had never had for the Kenites.¹ Yahweh had delivered them, and by His deliverance sealed His choice of them for Himself. In His compassion for Israel oppressed in Egypt He had given a revelation of His character, and had entered into her experience and her history, so that she worshipped Him not because she was subject to the influence of neighbouring people, but because He had sought and rescued her. At such a moment a new character might well be given to Yahwism and express itself in a new Decalogue, higher and

¹ Cf. K. Budde, *Religion of Israel to the Exile*, pp. 35 ff. ; K. Marti, *The Religion of the Old Testament*, E. Tr., by G. A. Bieneman, 1914, p. 62 ; Oesterley and Robinson, *Hebrew Religion*, 2nd ed., p. 150. Budde, *op. cit.*, p. 38, emphasises that Israel's religion was a religion of choice, in contrast to Kenite religion. T. J. Meek, *Hebrew Origins*, 2nd ed., 1950, counters this with a reference to 'plenty of examples of the phenomenon with peoples other than the Hebrews'. As this is presented as a reply to me also, I may refer to *From Joseph to Joshua*, pp. 158 f. note, where I endorse Meek's criticism of Budde, but add, 'Here it was not Israel's spontaneous choice of Yahweh, but Israel's response to His choice of her and deliverance of her.' Of this phenomenon I am not aware that plenty of examples can be adduced. As J. Meinhold, *Einführung in das Alte Testament*, 3rd ed., p. 59, observes : 'Wichtiger als die Frage, woher der Kult stammte, ist die, was Moses aus ihm machte.' On the view which I have presented, Moses gave a new quality to Yahwism, and did not merely mediate it to Israel at the Kenite level.

richer than the old one of the Kenites. I have already said that the Ten Commandments are generally believed to have been incorporated in the E document of the Pentateuch, which came from Ephraimite Israel, and therefore from the group which Moses led. It would therefore be wholly consistent with this if Moses delivered this Decalogue to the tribes he led, still retaining some of the provisions of the old Decalogue, but replacing others by the higher demands in the realm of conduct instead of ritual.¹

The case for the Mosaic origin of the familiar Ten Commandments does not end here, however. For we may next observe that an ethical Decalogue is in harmony with the whole character of the bond between Israel and God which Moses mediated.² Yahweh had chosen Israel and delivered her from Egypt; Israel in response committed herself in loyalty and obedience to Him. That is the essence of Israel's Covenant with God. It rested on her recognition of what God had done and on her gratitude to Him for His mercy. From God's side the basis of the Covenant was unmerited grace; from Israel's side it was her gratitude. There was thus an ethical strand in the very establishment of the religion of Israel through Moses, since gratitude is essentially an ethical emotion. Other emotions, such as fear or grief or joy or anger, have no inherently ethical quality. But gratitude for blessings received is an emotion men ought always to feel, and it is the response to a moral obligation which rests upon them. It is therefore wholly consonant with the conditions of the time that the fundamental demands of the

¹ It is entirely consistent with this view that we find most of the old Kenite Decalogue distributed in the Book of the Covenant, as above noted. For if Moses gave a new Decalogue to express the new character of the religion he established in Israel, the old would still be remembered, and its ritual demands were not necessarily repudiated.

² Cf. S. R. Driver, *Exodus*, pp. 414 f., where Driver observes: 'If the religion of Moses had not differed, in some *distinctive* feature, from the ordinary religions of antiquity, it is impossible to understand why, when the Israelites entered Canaan, and intermingled . . . with the native Canaanites, it was not merged and absorbed in their religion', and quotes C. G. Montefiore, *Lectures on the . . . Religion . . . of the Ancient Hebrews* (Hibbert Lectures), 2nd ed., 1893, p. 46: 'That successful resistance to Canaanite polytheism . . . would surely not have been possible unless the Yahweh whom Moses taught differed from the Canaanite deities, not only in his numerical uniqueness, but in his higher and more consistent ethical character.'

religion established through Moses should be couched in ethical terms, and far more likely that in such a moment and through such a man this great advance should be made than that it should just happen somehow by itself at some unknown time and in some unknown way.

It is necessary to study some of the evidence which has been adduced in favour of a later origin, however, before we can be satisfied with this conclusion. Much attention is directed to the second commandment.¹ This reads : ' Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image.' The purpose of the command is clearly to forbid the making of any image of Yahweh to be worshipped by Israel, or to be the symbol whereby He should be visibly represented.² Yet there is ample evidence that images of various kinds were found in Israel long after the time of Moses.³ Gideon is said to have made an ephod, which became a snare to him and led all Israel astray.⁴ From the materials with which it was made it would appear to have been some form of image.⁵

¹ Cf. especially G. L. Robinson, *The Decalogue and Criticism*, pp. 24 ff. ; J. E. McFadyen, *Expositor*, 8th series, xi, 1916, pp. 384 ff., xii, 1916, pp. 37 ff. ; E. König, *Das Deuteronomium* (K.A.T.), 1917, pp. 94 f. ; A. H. McNeile, *Exodus*, p. lx ; S. R. Driver, *Exodus*, pp. 415 f. ; R. H. Charles, *The Decalogue*, pp. 14 ff. ; H. Schmidt, in *Eucharisterion*, pp. 93 ff. ; R. H. Pfeiffer, ' Images of Yahweh ', in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xlv, 1926, pp. 211 ff. ; A. J. Wensinck, ' The Second Commandment ', in *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afd. Letterk., lix, series A, 1925, pp. 159 ff. ; S. Mowinckel, *Le Décalogue*, pp. 14 ff. ; H. T. Obbink, ' Jahwebilder ', in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, N.F. vi, 1929, pp. 264 ff. (cf. M. Noth, *Die Gesetze im Pentateuch*, 1940, pp. 91 f. note) ; P. Heinisch, *Das Buch Exodus*, p. 270 ; W. Zimmerli, ' Das zweite Gebot ', in *Festschrift für Alfred Bertholet*, 1950, pp. 550 ff.

² A. J. Wensinck, *loc. cit.*, maintains that the intention of the prohibition was to forbid the making of images of any living creatures, since that would be to usurp God's creative function.

³ It has been noted above that Powis Smith excludes this command from the original Decalogue.

⁴ Judges viii. 27.

⁵ This is not agreed, however, by all scholars. Cf. C. F. Burney, *The Book of Judges*, 1920, pp. 236 ff. Into the difficulties of the question of the ephod I cannot go here. Cf. T. C. Foote, ' The Ephod ', in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xxi, 1902, pp. 1 ff. ; E. Sellin, ' Das israelitische Ephod ', in *Orientalische Studien* (Nöldeke Festschrift), ii, 1906, pp. 699 ff., ' Efod und Terafim ', in *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, xiv, 1934, pp. 1 ff., and ' Noch einmal der alttestamentliche Efod ', *ibid.*, xvii, 1937, pp. 236 ff. ; W. R. Arnold, *Ephod and Ark*, 1917 ; K. Budde, ' Ephod und Lade ', in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, xxxix, 1921, pp. 1 ff. ; H. Thiersch, ' Ependytes und Ephod ',

Even more explicit is the statement that Micah's mother used the silver which her son stole from her and returned to her to make 'a graven image and a molten image', which was later transferred to the sanctuary of Dan and kept by the grandson of Moses.¹ In the house of David was some image which was laid

ibid., N.F. xii, 1935, pp. 180 ff.; H. G. May, 'Ephod and Ariel', in *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, lvi, 1939, pp. 44 ff.; J. Morgenstern, *The Ark, the Ephod, and the "Tent of Meeting"*, 1945, pp. 114 ff. The word 'ephod' seems to have a variety of uses in the Old Testament. Sometimes it clearly denotes a garment, and in P it denotes a part of the High Priest's vesture (Exod. xxviii). In other passages it would appear to denote a solid object, and in the present passage it can scarcely denote a garment. Arnold holds that wherever it denotes a solid object we should read 'Ark' for 'Ephod' (cf. 1 Sam. xiv. 18, where the Hebrew text has 'Ark' and the Septuagint 'Ephod'). This seems an arbitrary view, however. Cf. Morgenstern, *op. cit.*, p. 115: 'Arnold's hypothesis has not found general acceptance; and indeed it could not have been accepted, for the weight of evidence is overwhelmingly against it.' The ephod was intimately associated with the sacred lot (cf. 1 Sam. xiv. 41 LXX for the use of the lot). While the sacred lot seems to have fallen into desuetude in late times, there does not seem to be the hostility to it which is here shown to Gideon's ephod, and it is clear that the narrator thought of it in different terms. That it was reprehensible in his eyes does not prove that it was reprehensible in the eyes of Gideon or his contemporaries, and the man who had shown such zeal in the service of Yahweh and His people would not be expected to make something which he knew would be offensive in the eyes of God. All of this may be allowed; yet it does not show that Gideon's ephod was an image of Yahweh, or, indeed, an image of any god. The Decalogue does not forbid the use of any sacred symbol, but only the worship of any god but Yahweh, Who is not to be represented by a material image. We find the same thing with the Brazen Serpent. Hezekiah destroyed this because worship was offered to it as though it were God (2 Kings xviii. 4). Tradition said that Moses had made this Serpent (Num. xxi. 8 f.), but it is more probable that it was an ancient Jebusite symbol which was already in Jerusalem when David took it (cf. my paper 'Zadok and Nehushtan', in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, lviii, 1939, pp. 113 f., and 'Melchizedek and Zadok' in *Festschrift für Alfred Bertholet*, 1950, pp. 461 ff.). If this view is correct, it was not originally a representation of Yahweh, and neither did tradition so represent it. There is no evidence whatever that either ephod or Nehushtan was an image of Yahweh. Where either was worshipped it would involve a breach of the first commandment, if it were thought not to be Yahweh, and a breach of the second commandment, if it were believed to be Yahweh; but against the creation of a sacred symbol other than an image of Yahweh the Decalogue raises no bar.

¹ Judges xvii. 3 f. Here it is to be noted that whereas vs. 4 says the silver was used to make 'a graven image and a molten image', the following verse says Micah made 'an ephod and teraphim'. It is by no means certain, however, that we should equate these (cf. xviii. 14, 17, 18, 20). That there is here a breach of either the first or the second command, if the Decalogue was already given,

in his bed and covered over so as to deceive the men who carried it to Saul into thinking that they were carrying David.¹ This must have been more or less comparable with a man in size and weight.² The curious can quickly find other examples to prove quite conclusively that images continued to be found in Israel for a very long time.³ There is no direct evidence, however,

is clear, and it is often emphasised that the shrine to which the symbols were taken was kept by Jonathan, the grandson of Moses (Judges xviii. 30). This does not prove that Jonathan must have been loyal to his grandfather's teaching. It is certain that neither Micah nor Jonathan betrays any consciousness of wrongdoing. But conscience is not a valid standard of law. The men of Ophrah were not conscious of wrongdoing in worshipping at a Baal altar, but when Gideon broke it down (Judges vi. 25 ff.) he gave evidence of a recognition that Yahweh and Baal were not one, and that therefore the worship of Baal was not legitimate for Israel.

¹ 1 Sam. xix. 13 ff.

² Cf. P. Dhorme, *Les Livres de Samuel*, 1910, p. 174: 'D'après ce passage il est clair que les *teraphim* avaient, dans certains cas, une forme humaine, ce qui explique la confusion'. G. Hoffmann and H. Gressmann, 'Teraphim, Masken und Winkorakel in Ägypten und Vorderasien', in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, xl, 1922, pp. 75 ff., maintain that the teraphim were human images that gave oracular responses by winking. Morgenstern, *op. cit.*, p. 120, notes that ephod and teraphim were commonly associated together, and holds that the ephod was the tent-shrine and the teraphim the idols within it. On the other hand, W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, 2nd ed., 1946, p. 114, denies that any idol is here referred to, and proposes (p. 207) to understand the term to mean 'old rags'. This seems very improbable. In Gen. xxxi. 19, the teraphim that Rachel stole were certainly idols (cf. vs. 32), and in the light of Nuzu evidence that the possession of such idols ensured the succession to the father-in-law's property (cf. C. H. Gordon, *Revue Biblique*, xlv, 1935, pp. 35 f., and *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 66, April 1937, p. 26) it seems now probable that the reason for Rachel's theft can be understood. Morgenstern (*op. cit.*, pp. 125 f. note) suggests that Michal's teraphim were similarly symbols which ensured for her husband the title to succeed Saul on the throne. I find no reason to doubt that the teraphim were images of some kind, probably associated with the giving of oracles (cf. C. F. Burney, *The Book of Judges*, pp. 420 f.), though there is no evidence that they were intended to be images of Yahweh or to be worshipped. They do not seem, therefore, to involve any necessary breach of the Ten Commandments. On the teraphim cf. E. Sellin, 'Efod und Terafim', in *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, xiv, 1934, pp. 1 ff. and 'Zu Efod und Terafim', in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, N.F. xiv, 1937, pp. 296 ff., and W. E. Barnes, 'Teraphim', in *Journal of Theological Studies*, xxx, 1929, pp. 17 ff.

³ Cf. Judges iii. 19, 2 Kings xxi. 7; 1 Sam. xxi. 9. It is common also to quote Hos. iii. 4 as evidence that the prophet regarded ephod and teraphim as unobjectionable. This is no necessary inference from the verse, however. All it says is that the people will be deprived of the things they most value, king and

that any of these images which I have mentioned were images of Yahweh,¹ and G. E. Wright has recently called attention to the singular fact that while large numbers of figurines of a female deity have been found in Palestinian excavations, so far no image of a male deity has been turned up.²

To all this it may be replied that when Jeroboam 'made Israel to sin' by making the shrines of Bethel and Dan royal shrines for the northern kingdom, he is said to have made the bull calves and set them up in the shrines. It is commonly held that these were divine symbols, representing Yahweh, and that they were a direct breach of the second commandment, if that commandment already existed.³ But what of it? The fact that a commandment is ignored or broken is no evidence

cult, so that they may be brought to a sense of their need of God. Yet even if the verse did imply that ephod and teraphim were unobjectionable in the eyes of Hosea, it would still not bring the slightest evidence that they were either images of Yahweh, or thought by Hosea to be entitled to worship.

¹ The probability is greatest in the case of Micah's image, since the story seems to imply that Micah and his mother were loyal to Yahweh as their God.

² Cf. *The Old Testament against its Environment*, 1950, p. 23: 'In the vast mass of debris dug out of Israelite towns there is yet to be found an image of a male deity.' Cf. W. F. Albright, *op. cit.*, p. 114. J. E. McFadyen, *The Expositor*, 8th series, xii, 1916, p. 44 n. says: 'Sellin, however, may be right in accounting for the paucity of images discovered in the course of excavation by the fact that those made of the precious metals would naturally be carried away by the enemy as booty.'

³ This is by no means certain, however. H. T. Obbink, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, N.F. vi, 1929, pp. 267 f., argued that the bull calves were but the pedestals, corresponding to the bulls on which Hadad stood. Here, however, they were empty, in contrast to those of Hadad, showing that Yahweh was a God who was not to be represented by an image. Cf. W. Eichrodt, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, 3rd ed., i, 1948, p. 50; J. Hempel, *Gott und Mensch im Alten Testament*, 2nd ed., 1936, pp. 265 f., and *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, N.F. xvi, 1939, pp. 77; W. F. Albright, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, lvii, 1938, p. xviii and *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, 2nd ed., 1946, pp. 228 ff. This seems to me to be the probable view, though in the text above I have conceded the more common view, as I prefer not to exploit doubtful evidence in the interests of my case. For 1 Kings xiv. 9 represents Jeroboam as having made 'other gods and molten images'. Cf. further O. Eissfeldt, 'Lade und Stierbild', in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, N.F. xvii, 1940-1941, pp. 190 ff., for the view that the bulls were small transportable objects like one depicted at Mari. With this contrast the view of L. Waterman, *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, xxxi, 1914-1915, pp. 229 ff., where it is held that they were 'bull colossi'.

that it is unknown, or that it has not been promulgated.¹ There is, alas! much adultery and much theft in the modern world, but no one dreams of concluding that the Ten Commandments have not yet been written. Jeroboam is condemned for his act not alone by the later conscience of the compilers of the books of Kings, but by his contemporaries. Even the prophet Ahijah, who had stirred him to take the lead in the Disruption was dissatisfied with him and turned against him.² There is not the slightest reason to suppose that this is a later invention. Clearly, therefore, we must not lightly conclude that the acts of Jeroboam accorded with the religious standards so far as they were known in his day. All through the unsettled period of the Conquest and the Judges there had been considerable declension in innumerable ways from the level of the days of Moses, and in many ways standards had become neglected and forgotten, save by the faithful few. There cannot be many students of the Old Testament who will not recognise that in the post-Settlement period the Israelites adopted Canaanite religious customs, and worshipped other gods besides Yahweh. Yet there can be little doubt that Moses demanded of Israel the worship of Yahweh alone. This is quite independent of the much discussed question as to whether Moses was a monotheist.³ Whether he recognised the existence of other gods or not, there can be no reason to

¹ Cf. W. P. Paterson, in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, i, p. 581b; S. R. Driver, *Exodus*, p. 416; W. R. Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, p. lxii; A. Weiser, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, p. 93 (2nd ed., p. 95).

² Cf. 1 Kings xiv. The chapter bears the marks of the Deuteronomic editor's style, and we cannot rely on its terms, therefore, as evidence of Ahijah's words. But there is no reason to suppose that the editor invented the whole chapter, or to doubt that Jeroboam sent his wife in disguise to Ahijah (vs. 1). This carries its testimony to some breach between Ahijah and Jeroboam, therefore, and it is most probable that it arose out of the king's religious policy.

³ On this cf. my article 'The Antiquity of Israelite Monotheism', in *Expository Times*, lxi, 1949-1950, pp. 333 ff., in which I argue that while Moses was not a speculative monotheist he was more than a henotheist, and that when we penetrate beneath labels, which cannot be made to fit the case with any precision, we find the seeds of monotheism in his work. Cf. E. Sjöberg, *Svensk exegetisk årsbok*, xiv, 1949, p. 11: 'Yahweh was already from the beginning of a type which made possible a development in the direction of prophetic monotheism'. Cf. T. K. Cheyne, *Expositor*, 4th series, v, 1892, p. 109: 'My own historical sense emphatically requires that from the very beginning there should have been the germ of the advanced "ethical montheism" of the prophets'.

doubt that he denied their legitimacy for Israel, and that the first commandment faithfully represents the standard set before Israel. But if this could be broken without causing us to doubt that it had been given, how can we argue that the breach of the second command shows that it could not have been given?¹

By Gressmann it has been held that the Ark contained an image of Yahweh.² If this could be proved, it would be quite fatal to my thesis. For it would be hard to suppose that Moses forbade the making of an image of Yahweh, and yet himself had one prepared to be the most sacred symbol of Israel's faith. There is, however, no evidence that the Ark contained an image of Yahweh.³ That the Ark was itself a symbol of His presence is sure enough. When it was taken on to the battle-field, friend and foe were ready to interpret its presence as the guarantee of His presence.⁴ But that does not prove that it contained an image, of which there is no trace of a suggestion in the Biblical accounts. While there is ample evidence of images in Israel, there is none that an image of Yahweh was anything but a contravention of the law of His faith, and none that any image of

¹ Whether the breach of a command implies ignorance of it depends on who commits the breach, and how it is recorded. When Elijah complains that the queen has broken down Yahweh altars, and himself rebuilds an altar on Carmel, there is reason to presume that he was unaware of a law of a single sanctuary. It is often held that the fact that Elijah and Elisha do not condemn the bull calves of Bethel and Dan is similar evidence that they cannot have been aware of the prohibition of images. The two cases are not parallel, however. In the first place, the urgent question in that age was whether Yahwism was to survive at all, rather than in what form Yahweh was to be worshipped. In the second place, we must not prejudge the issue as to whether the bull calves were thought to be images of Yahweh or not. In the third place, we cannot argue from silence, since we cannot be sure that we have the whole teaching of these prophets preserved. In the case of the law of the single sanctuary we rely on positive evidence, and not on silence. That no major emphasis of Elijah can have been directed against the bull calves may be agreed; but that he approved of them cannot be established.

² Cf. Gressmann, *Die Lade Jahves und das Allerheiligste des salomonischen Tempels*, 1920, pp. 17 ff.

³ Cf. J. Morgenstern, *Hebrew Union College Annual*, v, 1928, pp. 117 f.; R. Kittel, *The Religion of the People of Israel*, E. Tr. by R. C. Mickleth, 1925, p. 58 n. In *The Ark, the Ephod, and the "Tent of Meeting"*, pp. 94 f., Morgenstern maintains that the Ark originally contained a sacred stone, or two sacred stones, or images, which were later transformed into the two tablets of the Decalogue (p. 107).

⁴ Cf. 1 Sam. iv. 5 f.

Yahweh ever stood in the shrine of Shiloh or in the Jerusalem Temple.¹ It is perfectly true that idolatrous symbols were found from time to time in the Temple, and there is condemnation of those who made them and used them; but there is no evidence that the Temple contained an image of Yahweh, or that if it had it would not have been a violation of one of the fundamental laws of Yahwism.

Indeed, it is probable that so far as this commandment is concerned, it is even more ancient than the time of Moses.² For it will be remembered that this is common to the Ritual Decalogue of Exod. xxxiv and the familiar Decalogue of Exod. xx. It therefore seems to have been characteristic of Yahwism so far back as it can be traced, whether amongst Kenites or amongst Israelites.³ It is to be noted, however, that the terms are not identical in the two Decalogues. The primitive Ritual Decalogue forbids the making of any molten image,⁴ while that of Exod. xx forbids the making of any graven image.⁵ The intention of both was surely to prohibit the making of any image of Yahweh at all. We cannot for a moment suppose that the one Decalogue prohibited a molten image but permitted a graven image, while the other Decalogue prohibited a graven image but permitted a molten image.⁶ This is at once clear when we remember that

¹ Cf. E. Sellin, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, E. Tr., p. 41 (7th German ed., p. 26; 8th ed., rev. by L. Rost, p. 40): 'The absence of any images which is so indubitably attested as regards the sanctuaries of Shiloh and Jerusalem must, after all, have had some reason.'

² It has been frequently pointed out that in the stories of the patriarchs there are no references to any idols which they worshipped. So S. R. Driver, *Exodus*, pp. 415 ff.; J. E. McFadyen, *loc. cit.*, xii, 1916, p. 43; E. König, *Das Deuteronomium*, p. 94.

³ It may be noted further that Exod. xx. 23 says: 'gods of silver, or gods of gold, ye shall not make unto you'. This text stands in E, whether the Decalogue of Exod. xx originally stood in E or not, and it belongs to that other ancient Decalogue, which so many scholars have detected, which is now distributed in the Book of the Covenant. Both J and E therefore seem to have maintained a prohibition of images, quite apart from the prohibition of the familiar Decalogue.

⁴ Exod. xxxiv. 17.

⁵ Exod. xx. 4.

⁶ E. Kautzsch, in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Extra vol., p. 641b, says: 'such a carved image appears to have been for long regarded as unobjectionable, whereas the molten image is already prohibited in the Jahwistic section of which Ex. xxxiv. 17 forms a part'. It seems to me inappropriate to approach

the story of the Golden Calf stands in the E document,¹ which also carries the Ten Commandments. In that story the making of a molten image is condemned. I am not here concerned with the common view that this is an aetiological story reflecting Jeroboam's bull calves back into the past. Whether the story is history or aetiology, it equally proclaims the condemnation of the compilers of the E document of molten images, as well as of the graven images which are prohibited in their Decalogue. In any case, no objection to the antiquity of the Ten Commandments can be based on the later existence of graven or molten images in Israel, since it is generally agreed that the Ritual Decalogue of Exod. xxxiv was already in existence at a time when molten images, such as it prohibited, were still to be found.

It is sometimes claimed that the inclusion of a Sabbath law in the Decalogue is an indication of post-Mosaic date.² Into the highly involved and much debated questions of the origin of the Sabbath it is impossible to go here.³ In pre-exilic texts

the Decalogue as we should approach a modern legal document, where every possible variety of term must be expressed. It is probable that the list of terms in the tenth commandment is a later expansion to guard against the possible exemption from its prohibition of coveting any possible possession of one's neighbour. In that case the original command was content to use a single term, though it can hardly be supposed that it permitted the coveting of all that is expressed by the others. In the same way here a single term for 'image' sufficed and the limiting of the meaning to the specific term seems alien to its spirit. Cf. E. Sellin, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, E. Tr., p. 45 (7th German ed., pp. 28 f.; 8th German ed., rev. by L. Rost, p. 42): 'Particularly naïve is the assertion that Ex. 20 must be later than Ex. 34, because in the latter passage only molten images, whereas in the other images of all kinds, are forbidden, for if molten images are an offence against the Deity, carved images or those in plastic material can certainly be no less so'. ¹ Exod. xxxii.

² Cf. J. C. Matthes, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, xxiv, 1904, pp. 31 f.; W. Nowack, *Abhandlungen zur semitischen Religionskunde usw.*, pp. 390 f.; S. Mowinkel, *Le Décalogue*, pp. 75 ff. H. Schmidt, *Eucharisterion*, pp. 104 ff., rejects the Sabbath law from the Decalogue on the ground that it is not referred to in Jer. vii. 9.

³ Cf. H. Zimmern, 'Sabbath', in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, lviii, 1904, pp. 199 ff.; J. Meinhold, *Sabbat und Woche im Alten Testament*, 1905, 'Die Entstehung des Sabbats', in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, xxix, 1909, pp. 81 ff., and 'Zur Sabbatfrage', *ibid.*, N.F. vii, 1930, pp. 121 ff.; M. Jastrow, 'On *mimmoḥorāth hash-shabbāth*', in *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, xxx, 1914, pp. 94 ff.; T. J. Meek, 'The Sabbath

we find new moon and sabbath linked together,¹ and it is sometimes said that the sabbath there must mean the day of the full moon.² Snaith has recently argued that the word which is usually rendered 'new moon' really means 'full moon',³ and this would make the sabbath, on this principle, the day of the new moon and not a weekly rest day. It is argued by others that before the Settlement in Canaan a nomadic people could not have observed a weekly day of rest. This might be possible in urban or in agricultural society, but would not be practicable for a pastoral people.⁴ We have to reckon with the possibility,

in the Old Testament', in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xxxiii, 1914, pp. 201 ff.; J. E. McFadyen, *Expositor*, 8th series, xi, pp. 311 ff.; A. H. McNeile, *Exodus*, pp. 121 ff.; W. Nowack, in *Abhandlungen zur semitischen Religionskunde usw.*, pp. 390 ff., and *Schabbat* (in Beer's *Die Mischna*), 1924, pp. 8 ff.; R. Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 6th ed., 1923, pp. 446 ff. (not in E. Tr.); B. Jacob, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, N.S. xiv, 1923-1924, pp. 153 ff.; B. D. Eerdmans, 'Der Sabbath', in *Vom Alten Testament* (Marti Festschrift), 1925, pp. 79 ff.; S. Mowinckel, *Le Décalogue*, pp. 75 ff.; K. Budde, 'The Sabbath and the Week', in *Journal of Theological Studies*, xxx, 1929, pp. 1 ff., and 'Antwort auf Johannes Meinholds "Zur Sabbathfrage"' in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, N.F. vii, 1930, pp. 138 ff.; A. Lods, *Israël*, pp. 508 ff. (E. Tr., pp. 437 ff.); P. Volz, *Mose und sein Werk*, pp. 46 ff.; W. W. Cannon, 'The Weekly Sabbath', in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, N.F. viii, 1931, pp. 325 ff.; E. G. Kraeling, 'The Present Status of the Sabbath Question', in *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, xlix, 1932-1933, pp. 218 ff.; H. Cazelles, *Études sur le Code de l'Alliance*, 1946, pp. 92 ff.; M. Buber, *Moses*, 1946, pp. 80 ff.; N. H. Snaith, *The Jewish New Year Festival*, 1947, pp. 103 ff.; and N. H. Tur-Sinai (Torczyner), 'Sabbat und Woche', in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, viii, 1951, pp. 14-24.

¹ Cf. Am. viii. 5; Hos. ii. 13 (EV. 11); Isa. i. 13; 2 Kings iv. 23.

² Cf. J. Meinhold, *Sabbat und Woche im Alten Testament*, pp. 3 ff.; T. J. Meek, *loc. cit.*, pp. 203 ff.; G. Hölscher, *Geschichte der israelitischen und jüdischen Religion*, 1922, p. 80; S. Mowinckel, *Le Décalogue*, pp. 75 ff.; A. Lods, *Israël*, pp. 508 ff. (E. Tr., pp. 438 ff.). Against this view cf. B. D. Eerdmans, *Alttestamentliche Studien*, ii, 1910, pp. 138 ff.; E. König, *Geschichte der alttestamentlichen Religion*, 1912, pp. 238 f.; R. Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 6th ed., p. 447; B. Jacob, *loc. cit.*, pp. 157 f.; K. Budde, *Journal of Theological Studies*, xxx, 1929, pp. 7 ff., and *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, N.F. vii, 1930, pp. 144 f.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 103 ff.

⁴ Cf. R. Smend, *Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte*, 2nd ed., p. 160, B. Stade, *op. cit.*, i, p. 177, W. E. Addis, *The Documents of the Hexateuch*, i, 1892, pp. 139 f. note, where it is maintained that the seventh day Sabbath cannot come from the wilderness period, but implies the settled life of agriculture. J. N. Schofield, *The Religious Background of the Bible*, p. 144, says there is no reason to believe that even so late as Jeremiah the prophets would have included

therefore, that the very name Sabbath has had a history, and it may not always have the same meaning wherever we meet it.¹ We have also to reckon with the possibility that what was meant by keeping the Sabbath and refraining from work would not be defined in all ages with the same precision and rigidity.² All terms have their meaning modified in course of time. What we understand by the seventh commandment is not identical with what an Israelite understood. By adultery we mean any disloyalty to the marriage bond on either side, but in Israelite thought there was only adultery where a married woman was concerned.³ For a married man to have relations with a woman not his wife was not regarded as adultery, unless she were another man's wife. It could, of course, be regarded as reprehensible, as many

Sabbath observance as a commandment of God. T. J. Meek, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xxxiii, 1914, p. 204, says that the weekly Sabbath could not possibly have been earlier than the Settlement in Canaan. On the other hand, E. Sellin, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, E. Tr., p. 41 (7th German ed., p. 26; 8th German ed., rev. by L. Rost, p. 40), thinks this command points directly to the desert as its place of origin. A. Weiser, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, p. 93 (2nd ed., p. 95), says it cannot be proved that the Sabbath was not observed in the wilderness.

¹ H. and K. Lewy, 'The Origin of the Week and the Oldest West Asiatic Calendar', in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, xvii, 1942-1943, pp. 1 ff., argue that the seven day week developed out of a fifty day unit in the time of Ezra. It is difficult to believe that all the clear Biblical references to a seven day week are so late as this. S. Langdon (*Babylonian Menologies and the Semitic Calendars*, 1935, p. 96) holds that the Hebrews borrowed the name Sabbath through a complete misunderstanding of the Babylonian calendar.

² Cf. S. R. Driver, *Exodus*, p. 415: 'We do not know how much cessation of work was at this early period prescribed for the sabbath'; K. Budde, *Journal of Theological Studies*, xxx, 1929, p. 6: 'It is obvious that the command to abstain from work was adapted to changing conditions of life, and therefore that in the course of centuries the Sabbath rest constantly assumed a new aspect'; E. Robertson, *The Old Testament Problem*, 1950, p. 91: 'No definition was given of work'. Robertson adds that only three kinds of labour which come within the Sabbath ban are specified in the Pentateuch: the kindling of fire (Ex. xxxv. 2), the going out of one's place (Ex. xvi. 29), and the gathering of faggots (Num. xv. 32-36).

³ Cf. I. Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, 1st series, 1917, p. 73: 'In Jewish law adultery was the intercourse of a married woman with any man other than her husband. Though his conduct was severely reprobated, and at all events in later centuries gave his wife a right to claim a divorce, a man was not regarded as guilty of adultery unless he had intercourse with a married woman other than his wife.'

sexual offences other than adultery were regarded. When we use the seventh commandment to-day, therefore, we read into it a greater fullness of meaning than it appears to have carried originally. We must therefore beware of concluding too readily that the Sabbath always meant the same, or that keeping the Sabbath always meant the same.

It is quite clear that in the present context of Exod. xx, however, the Sabbath means a weekly day of rest for the injunction to 'remember the sabbath day to keep it holy', is followed by the expansion—so it is commonly held—'Six days shalt thou labour and do all thy work; but the seventh day is a sabbath unto the Lord thy God'. Similarly in the statement of the Ten Commandments which stands in Deut. v we find the same words. If, however, the original form of this command were short, and it simply read, as most scholars assume: 'Remember the sabbath day to keep it holy', it might well have been undefined in respect of the recurrence of the Sabbath. While I would agree that the command was originally short, I am not persuaded that the words I have just quoted were the form it had. For here, once more, it is to be observed that this provision for the observance of the Sabbath stands also in the Ritual Decalogue of Exod. xxxiv.¹ It is curious that the commandments which have aroused most doubt are those whose antiquity is the most strongly attested, since they are in both of these forms of the Decalogue. They stand in the one which is admittedly very primitive in its character, to whatever date

¹ Exod. xxxiv. 21. Cf. Exod. xxiii. 12: 'Six days thou shalt do thy work, and on the seventh day thou shalt rest'. The law of the weekly Sabbath stands therefore in both J and E, as well as in the present form of the Decalogue of Exod. xx and Deut. v. Cf. W. W. Cannon, 'The Weekly Sabbath', in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, N.F. viii, 1931, pp. 325 f. Further, Exod. xvi. 29 f. gives evidence of a weekly Sabbath. There is little agreement here as to the date or the document to which it should be assigned. O. Eissfeldt, *Hexateuch-Synopse*, p. 141* assigns it to L, which is the earliest of his sources. Similarly, B. Baentsch, *Exodus-Leviticus*, p. 155, A. Dillmann, *Exodus-Leviticus*, p. 191, and S. R. Driver, *Exodus*, p. 151, assign it to J, which is the earliest of their sources. G. Beer, *Exodus*, p. 88, assigns it to the earlier strand of J, and C. A. Simpson, *The Early Traditions of Israel*, 1948, pp. 548 f., to the later strand of J. Many other scholars, however, assign these verses to P, and J. Morgenstern, *Hebrew Union College Annual*, x, pp. 87 f. note to P₂.

it should be ascribed.¹ This would certainly suggest that a Sabbath law was integral to Yahwism from a very early date.²

As to its frequency and its observance, it may be noted that the Ritual Decalogue makes it clear that it refers to one day in seven. This is not reserved for a second sentence of interpretation as in the other Decalogue, but is the primary form of the injunction: 'Six days shalt thou work, but on the seventh day thou shalt rest'.³ It would therefore appear that in the familiar

¹ It has been noted above that many scholars delete the Sabbath command from Exod. xxxiv. These include Wellhausen, Addis, Smend, G. L. Robinson, Cornill, McNeile, Holzinger, Hölscher, Eissfeldt, and *La Bible du Centenaire*. As the deletion rests on the view that the weekly Sabbath was a late development, it offers no support to that view. It is difficult to suppose that late hands not only expanded the text of Exod. xx and Deut. v in this sense, but made gratuitous additions to Exod. xxxiv. 21 and Exod. xxiii. 12, where there was nothing in the context to demand it. The addition to the old Decalogue before the time of J of agricultural festivals which had become accepted is a much more natural hypothesis.

² B. D. Eerdmans, 'Der Sabbath', in *Vom Alten Testament* (Marti Festschrift), 1925, pp. 79 f. (cf. *The Religion of Israel*, 1945, p. 29) advanced the view that the Sabbath was a Kenite observance before the days of Moses, and this view gained the adhesion of K. Budde, *Journal of Theological Studies*, xxx, 1929, pp. 11 ff. J. Meinhold criticised this view in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, N.F. vii, 1930, pp. 134 ff., and Budde replied, *ibid.*, pp. 144 f. Eerdmans bases himself on Exod. xxxv. 2 f., where the kindling of fire on the Sabbath is forbidden. The Kenites are held to be the smiths (cf. Gen. iv. 21 f.; on this question cf. W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, 1932, p. 206, and *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, 2nd ed., 1946, pp. 98 f.) whose fire was not kindled on this day. That this is very hazardous must be agreed, though it is certainly possible (cf. E. G. Kraeling, *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, xlix, 1932-1933, p. 219, where it is held that the evidence for a Kenite origin of the Sabbath is extremely weak). Mr. J. M. Allegro calls my attention to some curious verbal connexions between Exod. xxxv. 3 and the cryptic oracle on the Kenites in Num. xxiv. 21 f., which do not appear in the English translation; but again this passage is too difficult to be relied on with any confidence, and I prefer to rely rather on the considerations referred to above. On Num. xxiv. 21 f. cf. Albright, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, liii, 1944, p. 226, which seems to me an improvement on previous discussions, though I am doubtful if the original meaning has yet been penetrated. It should be added that M. Buber, *Moses*, 1949, p. 80, also maintains that the weekly Sabbath is pre-Mosaic, but without bringing it into association with the Kenites. N. H. Tur-Sinai (Torczyner), *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, viii, 1951, pp. 14 ff., denies any derivation of the Biblical Sabbath from the Babylonian calendar, and maintains that it was a distinctly Israelite institution.

³ Cf. also Exod. xxiii. 12. A. Dupont-Sommer (*Sabbat et Parascève à Éléphantine d'après des Ostraca araméens inédits*, 1950, p. 18 n.) observes that

Ten Commandments the primary statement was 'Six days shalt thou labour and do all thy work ; but the seventh day is a sabbath unto the Lord thy God '. These words are identical in Exod. xx and Deut. v, whereas there is a variation of terms in the words that precede, 'Remember' in Exodus and 'Keep' in Deuteronomy. Since it is more likely that variation is to be found in the expansions than in the original form of the Ethical Decalogue, it is probable that from the beginning, in both the primitive and the Ethical Decalogues, the Sabbath was defined as a weekly day of rest from all avoidable labour.¹ The injunction to keep it holy was added to make explicit what was implicit from the beginning, just as the expansions to the tenth commandment were added to make explicit what was implicit from the start. We may further observe that in the Ritual Decalogue we find the addition : 'in ploughing time and in harvest thou shalt rest '. This may be one of the additions made to apply the old-pre-Settlement Decalogue to agricultural conditions, making it clear that in times of the greatest strain its precepts must be observed.²

Instead of finding the prohibition of images and the Sabbath law any embarrassment to the association of Moses with the Ten Commandments, I think the evidence would suggest that the noun Sabbath does not stand in Deut. xxxiv. 21 or Exod. xxiii. 12, and suggests that the observance of the seventh day as a day of rest may be older than the application of the word Sabbath to it. He thinks Sabbath may have originally denoted the day of the full moon and later have been used for the seventh day.

¹ In the ninth commandment, there is a variation in what must undoubtedly have been the original commandment, and not an expansion. The expression for 'false witness' in Exod. xx. 16 is עֵד שקר, whereas in Deut. v. 20 it is עֵד שוא. Here, however, the variation is probably not a deliberate one, but goes back to a copyist in the time of the old script. The ק in the third Lachish Letter from the early sixth century (see *Lachish I*, 1938, Table facing p. 220) is closely similar to the 𐤒 shown in the table of alphabets given at the beginning of Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*, E. Tr. by A. E. Cowley, 1910, as found in seals and on gems from the ninth to the fifth centuries B.C., while the 𐤒 on many of the ancient writings, if it became worn, could be mistaken for 𐤒.

² S. H. Hooke, *The Origins of Early Semitic Ritual*, 1938, pp. 58 f., thinks the abstention from work was originally limited to the periods of ploughing and harvest, but the form of the sentence suggests that this was an addition. Cf. K. Budde, *Journal of Theological Studies*, xxx, 1929, p. 8 : 'It obviously does not mean, *only* in ploughing and harvest, but *even* in ploughing and harvest.'

both were essential to Yahwism even before the days of Moses, in the Kenite form in which it was known. It is hard to think of anyone whose authority could have imposed both of these on Israel between the days of Moses and the Disruption so firmly that they would persist in the Decalogues of both south and north.¹ Until the days of Saul Judah was largely cut off from the tribes of the central highlands, so that though there was coming and going between them, and a recognition that they were essentially one people, neither the political nor the religious life of the whole was centralised. After the Disruption of the kingdom, it is even harder to think of anyone whose authority would have sufficed to impose both of these commands upon the whole country. In the J and E documents we have the gathering and editing of traditions and customs rather than new codes of conduct put out under authority.²

One further consideration which has been advanced calls for notice. This is the absence of mention of circumcision in the Decalogue.³ This is advanced as an argument against those who assign the Decalogue to a date following the exile in Babylon. In such an age, it is said, it would have been important to ensure the separation of Jews from their neighbours by insistence on this rite, and we know that great importance was attached to it in the period of Judaism. It seems to me that this consideration can be pressed even farther, and the absence of any reference to circumcision will carry us back very far in the pre-exilic period.

Circumcision must have been practised in Israel from a very early time. The fact that all Israel's neighbours, with the exception of the Philistines, who invaded Palestine from the sea, practised this rite suggests that it was of very ancient origin,

¹ Cf. R. H. Charles, *The Decalogue*, p. xlviii, where it is maintained that before J and E the Ten Commandments were known in short form in the tenth century or earlier, and that 'if this is so, then there is no outstanding personality to whom this Decalogue can be ascribed other than Moses'.

² For discussions of the tenth commandment, which cannot be discussed here, cf. W. Herrmann, 'Das zehnte Gebot', in *Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte usw.*, pp. 69 ff. (reaching the conclusion that it is not easy to deny this command to Moses); W. J. Coates, 'Thou shalt not Covet', in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, N.F. xi, 1934, pp. 238 f.; B. Jacob, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, N.S. xiv, 1923-1924, pp. 166 ff.

³ Cf. S. Mowinckel, *The Decalogue*, pp. 110 ff.

and that Israel and her neighbours, all of whom, save the Philistines, came from one common cultural area, inherited the custom from the remote past. This does not mean that it was everywhere practised at the same age. It is generally believed that the obscure story in Exod. iv. 24-26 is somehow connected with the transfer of the rite from a puberty rite to an infancy rite in Israel.¹ The fact remains that, at whatever age, this was practised by Israel and her neighbours, with the exception of the Philistines. In all the period of the conflict with the Philistines, emphasis is laid on this distinction between the uncircumcised Philistines and Israel. If any meaning is to be given to this emphasis, and if the history is to be understood, we must suppose that the practice of circumcision was regular and general throughout Israel in that age, just as much as in a later age. We may therefore argue that if the Decalogue found its origin so late as the appearance of the Philistines in Palestine, it might have been expected to contain an injunction on this matter just as much as in later times. It would seem to me to be probable that since neither form of the Decalogue contains any reference to it, both must go back to a time at which circumcision was the rule throughout the whole of the world in which the Israelites—or the Kenites—lived, and that it could not therefore be regarded as one of the distinctive things about Yahwism, to be included in its table of fundamental laws. This means that both the Kenite Decalogue and the new Mosaic Decalogue both go back to a time before the Philistines and the Israelites had come into contact with one another.

I may then summarise my argument in this way. The familiar Ten Commandments cannot be considered without relation to the Ritual Decalogue of Exod. xxxiv. On the other hand we cannot suppose that these two Decalogues stand in a

¹ For some recent studies of this pericope cf. J. Richter, 'Der Blutbräutigam', in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, xxxix, 1921, pp. 123 ff.; J. Hehn, 'Der "Blutsbräutigam" Ex. iv. 24-26', *ibid.*, N.F. ix, 1932, pp. 1 ff.; J. Coppens, 'La prétendue agression nocturne de Jahvé contre Moïse, Séphorah et leurs fils', in *Miscellanées Bibliques*, iii-vi, 1941, pp. 6 ff.; J. de Groot, 'The Story of the Bloody Husband', in *Oudtestamentische Studiën*, ii, 1943, pp. 10 ff.; H. Junker, 'Der Blutbräutigam: eine textkritische und exegetische Studie zu Ex. iv. 24-26', in *Alttestamentliche Studien* (Nötscher Festschrift), 1950, pp. 120 ff.

linear development, but rather that both go back to pre-Mosaic religion, which at some time forked off into two streams of development. The one stream continued at a primitive level until long after the time of Moses, and in the southern document so late as the ninth century B.C. it was content with such modifications of the Old Decalogue as were necessitated by changed conditions of life. This means that the religion of Yahwism had some form of Decalogue so far back as it can be traced. When Moses mediated Yahwism to the tribes he led, following on the Exodus from Egypt, there would thus necessarily be some Decalogue, whether it were still closely similar to the old Ritual Decalogue or not.

Approaching from the other end, we see that there is strong reason to believe that the Ten Commandments were in substance formulated before the preparation of the E document of the Pentateuch in the eighth century, or the preparation of Deuteronomy in the seventh century. From some source older than either it was incorporated in both, though probably from a form in which all the commands were terser than some now are. In both, either at the time of the incorporation or later, there was some expansion, but not affecting the vital substance of the commands.

The features common to the Ritual Decalogue and the Ethical Decalogue show that we need not come down to a late date for any of these. This means that the prohibition of images and the observance of the Sabbath probably go back to the pre-Mosaic age, while the non-mention of circumcision points to a time before any conflict with the Philistines had begun, and therefore to a time before the beginning of the twelfth century B.C.

On the other hand the features of the Ten Commandments which are divergent from those of the primitive Decalogue are not such as can be easily accounted for at any time between the period of Moses and the compilation of the document E; and the earlier prophets, even so early as the time of David, seem to appeal to a standard of conduct which included some of these provisions. All probability seems to point towards the time of Moses, therefore, as the likely time for this notable change from a primitive to an advanced Decalogue.

The personality of Moses and the greatness of the occasion would render intelligible the issue of a new Decalogue in keeping with the new character of Yahwism as it was mediated to Israel by Moses. The more ethical character of this Decalogue would seem to match the circumstances of the man and the occasion, and is rendered wholly credible at that time by the fact of the ethical basis in gratitude of Israel's Covenant with Yahweh, in response to its initiation in grace and deliverance by God.

It should therefore be clear that the belief that there was worship of Yahweh in the world before the time of Moses, as the Bible states clearly and unequivocally, does not diminish the stature of Moses in the least, and does not lessen the greatness of his mission to men. Nothing can be farther from the truth than to suppose that all that Moses did was to introduce Israel to Kenite worship. He gave an altogether new quality and character to the religion, established it in Israel on a basis that was unique amongst men, and set a new standard before his people. The originality of his work—or, as I should prefer to say, of the work wrought by God through him—remains unaffected, and of the unmatched significance of his work for the world, and of the fact that before the days of our Lord no other of equal stature arose, I am fully persuaded. Not the least significant element of his work was his giving to men this short code of conduct which is still enshrined in men's hearts, and which still soars high above the attainment of the vast majority of mankind. For the genius of Moses was shown not alone in the new which he set before men, but in the old which he picked up and retained, and men do not conform to the Ten Commandments when they refrain from adultery and from stealing, unless they also have no other gods before the Lord—and that involves their loyalty to Him—and honour His name and His day. Here, it should be added, it is not without significance that in both Exodus and Deuteronomy the spirit of the law is expressed not alone by the prohibition of work on the Sabbath, but by the injunction to keep it holy. To Moses, the man of God, we are indebted, and to God, through him, for this high standard which is set before men, and for all that it has wrought for the enrichment of life by its inspiration and its summons down all the ages.

AENEAS AT CARTHAGE: A SHORT STUDY OF *AENEID* I AND IV¹

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THE most momentous thing in the *Aeneid* is the Will of heaven. The idea of a Divine Power, a dynamic and causal will exercising its continuous influence, is everywhere present in the poem and gives it unity. Virgil sometimes describes this power philosophically as *Fatum*, destiny, necessity; and again sometimes he follows the convention of epic and personifies Fate as Jupiter, the greatest of the Olympian deities, the ruler of Heaven and Earth, the Father of gods and men. It is this Will which has brought about the fall of Troy and thus closed an era of time: it is this Will which from the fall of Troy initiates a new era and begins the unfolding of a new age-long purpose which, slowly evolving through the centuries, will be perfected in the Roman Empire of Augustus. In Book Two of the *Aeneid* the poet allows us to see the ending of the previous era as the furious gods shatter the defences of Laomedon's city: but at once we see the inception of Heaven's new purpose which at first centres in the fortunes of Aeneas and the group of survivors from Troy who follow him in search of a vaguely outlined new land which has been promised to them by Destiny. The purpose of Heaven is beneficent in its ultimate and remote intention: it is not regardless of mankind: Virgil's deity is no Epicurean god; it is working for the good and happiness of humanity: but more for the whole of human kind than for individuals, more for the massive totality than for persons; and if in the broad general beneficence of the plan *this* individual seems to be included and *that* one excluded, it is because the one is necessary to the heavenly policy, and the other is either unnecessary or an obstacle. Aeneas is favoured by Heaven,

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on Wednesday, the 14th of March, 1951.

not in his personal capacity as a good and worthy man, not as an exile rendered homeless by the action of the gods : he is helped and directed because he is the earthly instrument of the divine purpose, the chosen leader who will bring the Trojan remnant to Italy, unite them with the Italians, and create the race which in the fullness of time will evolve the Empire which Virgil believes to be a consummation of the highest importance for human well-being. It is to this achievement that everything must be referred ; for the Empire of Augustus is the end towards which the Divine Intelligence has been working ever since Aeneas left Troy ; and it is also a great *causa finalis*, a completion which has shaped all previous events towards the creation of itself and has put its imperious control on all antecedent history.

Of the major deities who, besides Jupiter, take a prominent part in the Homeric action, Virgil carries over only two, Juno and Venus, to be chief actors in the *Aeneid* on the heavenly plane. It is true that we have a brief view of Neptune in Book One as he calms the storm, and of Vulcan in Book Eight as he forges the shield for Aeneas, and Apollo is the unseen prompter of various prophetic or minatory utterances in the course of the poem. But the appearances of these deities are very rare, compared with those of Juno and Venus, both of whom for different reasons have a special interest in the fate of Aeneas and his Trojans. Juno brings into the *Aeneid* the same hatred for Troy which, as Hera, she had had in the *Iliad* : her policy is still the destruction of the Trojan people even though that people is now only a handful of survivors seeking a new home in a distant country. She now has an additional reason for hatred, because she knows that when Aeneas and his Trojans settle in Latium a train of events will begin which will ultimately destroy her new interest and concern—the Carthaginian city which is being built by Dido on the coast of Africa. So Juno has motives, both from her memory of the past and from her knowledge of the future, for destroying the Trojan exiles ; and right at the beginning of the poem she tries, first by a tempest to wreck the Trojan fleet, and then by intrigue to seduce Aeneas from the quest of Italy. When he escapes both dangers and reaches the Tiber, Juno again intervenes to embroil the Trojans in a long

war with the native Latins—again with the intention of preventing the Trojan settlement. Juno thus takes an essential part in the motivation and movement of the Epic: she provides, both in heaven and on earth, an element of opposition to the Divine Will which will bring conflict and complexity, and therefore passion and interest, into the doings of Aeneas: and the clash of this invigorating and lively conflict is not resolved until the final scenes, where in heaven Jupiter determines that the divine purpose must prevail and on earth Aeneas triumphs over Turnus. Juno's enmity to Aeneas is not personal or individual: she has no feeling about him either way: she neither hates nor loves him: but she is resolved, if she can, to destroy the cause of which he is the symbol, and she will use all her force or guile either to drown him in the sea, or to entangle him permanently with Dido, or to vanquish him in the war with Turnus. All through the poem, and even in her final submission to Jupiter, she is consistently anti-Trojan. In Book One, having failed to destroy Aeneas in the storm, she now plans to beguile him in what Venus aptly calls "*Junonia hospitia*" (i, 611-612) at the court of Queen Dido.

As a foil and off-set to Juno, Virgil has introduced the goddess Venus, presenting her as the same subtle and diplomatic charmer that we find in the Homeric Hymn, though in the *Aeneid* she acts not irresponsibly but from the impulse of a maternal solicitude, not to say a grandmotherly affection. She constantly exercises a protective and guiding care over her son Aeneas. She has his interests and reputation at heart, whether in the sack of Troy, or in the voyage through the Mediterranean, or during his stay at Carthage, or when he seeks the Golden Bough, or when he needs armour for the Italian war. She appears to her son after his shipwreck to guide and cheer him: she screens him in mist as he enters Carthage: and she endows him with a youthful vigour as he emerges before Dido: it is especially when Aeneas is at Carthage that her protective care is exercised—unscrupulously, indeed, when she sends Cupid to inflame the Queen, but characteristically, just as in Book Eight she characteristically charms Vulcan to help Aeneas. Virgil means to emphasize both her personal interest in Aeneas and his son and her

public interest in their new kingdom and dynasty, for at the beginning of Book One she appears before Jupiter to plead for her son and for his cause and people, and we have the magnificent spectacle of the great Father comforting her by unfolding the future as it affects both Aeneas himself and the distant history and evolution of his descendants and nation. Both in heaven and on earth the strife and conflict serve to develop the major episodes in the poem. But out of the conflict there comes in the end a unity and tranquillity, a harmony in heaven, a harmonious agreement on earth, a sublime integration of the unity in heaven and on earth. One thing alone is permanent—the universal law which is the will of Jupiter, the all-pervading reason of the world. Locally, in the poem itself, this prevails when Aeneas stands victorious at the end of Book Twelve. Historically in the century-long evolution of the Roman power, the will of Jupiter prevails when the Empire of Augustus is finally established. Whether in the epic or in the real world, the brief flurries of human passion, or opposition, or rebellion, seem momentary and insignificant compared with this great and inevitable, though unhurried, process of developing destiny; and over it presides the grave and majestic figure of the Heavenly Ruler, viewing the earth and his instrument Aeneas with a lofty and remote beneficence, and content patiently to see his policy carried to fruition by his chosen servants. Just so, “*si parva licet componere magnis*”, just so have I imagined, in a Nationalized Industry, the sublime and august Chairman of the Commission, in the tranquil detachment of austere meditation, conceiving and enunciating his policy and long-term objective, which the Executive will translate into the laborious ergs of everyday work!

In these prefatory remarks and before we study Aeneas at Carthage, I have stressed the greatness of the cause which is involved, so that we may view and judge Aeneas not merely in relation to the local and temporal circumstances of the poem itself, but in his far greater setting as *primaeval* ancestor and author of the Roman State. Aeneas seems to act in a double significance, first as a man responsible for his own actions and with the same passions as the rest of us, but secondly as a man

who more and more devotes himself consciously to a great and exacting cause which in the early part of the epic he realizes only partially and by occasions—so that for a while he will be himself and then, after a sudden reminder, he will forget himself and all that concerns himself and become the surrendered and selfless instrument of the Divine Purpose, as responsive to the greater will as is the staff to the hand or the hand to the mind. Seen in this light, is Aeneas to be judged by the same standards as other mortals? May we demand of him, or criticize him for not possessing or not exercising, those powers of decision and action which clearly Virgil has not meant him wholly to possess or exert? How then are we to judge Aeneas—especially in the affair at Carthage? It will be worth while to look at him in more detail and to see how Virgil has handled the presentation of his character.

In presenting Aeneas as the hero of this poem Virgil had a free hand. He was little hampered by any previous treatment. In Homer we do not find Aeneas among the chief heroes of the Trojans; and his character, though not disagreeable, is not so strongly or attractively drawn as to make a deep impression. He is of royal stock, a brave fighter but rather in the second rank of Trojan leaders, an estimable person but unfulfilled, whose chance will come when the line of Priam is extinct and the leadership of the defeated people devolves on him. It is because such a future is foretold for him that he is rescued in Homer from the last battle with Achilles and carried away by the god Poseidon beyond the reach of danger. Virgil, therefore, in selecting a hero for his epic takes over a character whose outlines have been just sufficiently sketched in Homer to make him fit for a greater place in a later poem, and worthy of being developed into a major figure in the narrative of the Trojan settlement of Hesperia. It is true that, in the interval between Homer and Virgil, the story of Aeneas' wanderings had taken shape as a definite sequence of events which carried him Westwards from Troy through the Mediterranean to Crete, to Greece, to Sicily, to Carthage and to Italy. I need not go into the theories which account for the growth of this now traditional voyage linking Troy with Latium. By Virgil's time the details were all pretty

well fixed. But, as far as I know, the *character* of Aeneas was not developed with the same fullness as his voyage: he had not become a greater personage than he was in Homer: and in taking him over, Virgil was not adopting a hero with established and personal traits such as would have belonged to Ulysses, or to any of the great figures in the Trojan War. So far as the literary antecedents of Aeneas were concerned, Virgil started with a free hand to shape him as he wished or could.

It is otherwise when we consider a different aspect of Virgil's literary problem. The convention of what should happen in an epic had been fixed by the precedent of Homer's two poems, and the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius. "Arma virumque", war and the achievements of a hero or heroes who fight in it, and an action leading to some result of impressive magnitude: broadly speaking, that is a general prescription for epic. But in detail there were many occurrences and incidents which literary convention or expectation demanded of an epic writer—a storm, a battle, a love affair, a conflict of persons or of causes, an ἀριστέια, a scene of funeral games, a visit to the underworld, a shield, strange and romantic adventures, and the active interest and participation of the gods in the hero's fortunes. If the structure and composition of the epic are to some extent governed by the necessity to introduce these expected scenes, then the free and unrestricted development of the hero is denied. He must be conformed to the conduct appropriate to, or possible in, these predetermined episodes: and therefore events to some extent will dominate him—he will not, as it were, create situations expressive of his own dominant personality: the character must be in some degree conditioned by the context in which he is made to appear. I do not want to push this argument too far: for clearly Virgil showed great skill in shaping and expanding and modifying the kind of incident which epic convention required: it will be sufficient if I here be allowed my point—that the inherited convention of incidents proper to epic in some degree limited Virgil's treatment of his hero's character, which (as I have said) was undeveloped except for a rough draft by Homer. This kind of limitation imposed by the use of scenes not specially suited to the necessary revelation of character

hampers Virgil in his delineation of Aeneas and gives the hero sometimes a wooden and formal stiffness. Virgil had far more liberty to *create* the character of Dido or Turnus, and to let it reveal itself by its personal actions : and so their characters have a fresh and natural spontaneity of emotion and action that contrasts to the disadvantage of Aeneas and shows up the coldness and immobility of his conduct. It is worth considering whether, if the convention of epic required a love-scene, any love-scene can be imagined that would be appropriate to the grave and sedate widower whom Virgil depicts as his hero. Or can it be that the living and emotional character of Dido requires as a foil the solemn and inert goodness of Aeneas ?

Again, consider the position of Aeneas as an instrument or agent of the divine will. The Homeric Aeneas had been rescued from death at the hands of Achilles because " it was destined for him to escape that the race of Dardanus perish not without seed or sign ". In the *Aeneid* he is again presented as a figure of destiny, but of a destiny immeasurably enlarged beyond the petty kingship of a small Trojan remnant. He is now the special concern of Heaven as the man through whom the divine purpose is to be begun and carried to the completion of its first stage. It is therefore axiomatic that Virgil's Aeneas will be responsive to whatever indications of the divine will are conveyed to him and that obedience to the gods will be a functional element in his character. At first his obedience seems no more than a blind and negative acceptance of Destiny : he believes that the gods can guide him to the site for a new Troy by warning him off from unsuitable sites. But as disappointment and failure send him wandering farther from Troy, and as prophecies and oracles indicate darkly a more distant country as the appointed place, and as he becomes more accustomed to the guidance, the admonitions, the omens, and the assurances which Heaven gives him, impression after impression forms in his mind a concept of Heaven's interest and good purpose, and there grows in him a deliberate and conscious will to co-operate with the guiding and beneficent power which he has come to depend on and trust. To this extent his character seems to be less spontaneous and his decisions in the action of the poem to be less completely

his own ; and in proportion as Virgil develops him towards perfect obedience where he will rationally participate in the rational principle that governs the world, so, I think, the human appeal of the character diminishes. In the fall of Troy, as depicted in Book Two, he is a man of impulse, of capricious impulse. But he makes progress towards wisdom. He begins to discern the divine law and wills strongly to act in harmony with it. Aeneas thus advances in the course of the poem from capriciousness and self-will to a conscious integration of his will with what he finally recognizes to be the good and acceptable will of God. In the episode of Carthage he is betwixt and between. He is not yet completely purged of self and folly : he is not yet completely given to God and wisdom. We must remember this when we view him in relation to Dido. Virgil could have done nothing more baffling to our judgment than to present this half-grown ascetic, this hobbledehoy of a Stoic saint, in contrast with the full and noble humanity of Queen Dido. We can respect, and even admire, Aeneas : but not love or warm to him. I wonder if Virgil, in making his hero so responsive to the divine will and so much the human agent of the heavenly purpose, at all realized (until it was too late to change) how out-of-place and inconsistent was such a figure even in a conventional epic love-affair—and how utterly incongruous (except as a moral precept) in such an emotional complex as his genius invents in the passion and fury and despair of Dido.

It seems to me uncritical, therefore, in considering the chief mortal of the poem, to demand of him, or to blame him for not possessing or exercising, powers and qualities which his author never meant him to have. Aeneas was never intended to decide, to plan, to make policy : all major action in the epic begins with the gods : they cause the events, conflicts, and catastrophes that befall mortals : and mankind has only a secondary responsibility in carrying out the divine purpose. But within his own sphere of action, Aeneas is excellent. He is a supremely good executive. He has all the qualities and virtues required by a second-in-command. He can be trusted to carry out efficiently the dispositions needed to attain the objectives assigned to him—limited objectives at first, as may be seen in Book Three, but objectives

of greater responsibility as his loyalty and devotion are proved. On the one occasion when, blindly and unawares, he blunders into high policy and almost allows Troy and Carthage to be fused into a single nation, he is recalled peremptorily to his proper function, and cheerfully begins to organize the Trojans' departure from Carthage. He was unsurpassed at logistics.

Virgil has given great care to the construction of the First Book as a whole, and especially to the presentation and build-up of Aeneas as his hero. We are given our first sight of him on shipboard when the storm suddenly descends on the Trojan fleet; and though to a seafaring people, like ourselves, Aeneas' behaviour may not appear notably heroic or even practical, yet we should remember that the conventional attitude to the sea in Roman literature and in the Italian mind was one of distrust and fear for an incalculable element full of surprises and dangers. To face the sea called for high qualities of courage, faith, and even resignation. And these Aeneas showed in the first episode of the poem. He had been a soldier: it is as a soldier that he meets the storm: and when he regrets the death that seems imminent, we must not condemn him as unheroic, for it is as a soldier that he deplores the misfortune which had denied him a glorious end at Troy and had brought him to perish on the Syrtes miserably and ingloriously. Rescued by Neptune and brought safely to the African shore, he first thinks of his men's comfort and how to provision their camp after the losses caused by the ocean; and in one of the noble and dignified speeches which Virgil takes special care to compose for him, he soothes and encourages them and sets them to the comforting routine of preparing a meal: so his followers "*implentur veteris Bacchi pinguisque ferinae*" (i, 215), while he himself, for their sake, suppresses his doubts about their safety and prospects, "*curisque ingentibus aeger/spem vultu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem*" (i, 208-209).

At this stage in the narrative Aeneas has been seven years gone from Troy and has no doubt about his destination, for he knows that his journey is directed to Ausonia, Hesperia, Latium, and that there he will find the place appointed for his new kingdom. In Book Three, which describes the voyage,

Virgil has allowed us to see how a process of trial and error, of human choice and divine obstruction or warning, has conducted Aeneas westwards to Sicily and the Tuscan Sea; "per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum/tendimus in Latium, sedes ubi fata quietas/ostendunt" (i, 204-206). He is not yet altogether clear *why* he is bound for Italy. He simply thinks that, like Helenus in Greece, he will build in Latium a replica of Troy, "illic fas regna resurgere Troiae" (i, 206). He has no conception of the magnificent future which Jupiter has planned for his descendants. That will not be revealed to him until in Book Six he visits the Underworld and is shown the long line of his family stretching down the centuries of Roman expansion. But so far, his instructions mention only Italy. Hector, appearing to him on the last night of Troy, has simply urged him to find across the seas a new home for the Penates (ii, 294-295); and Jupiter confirms the rightness of the departure by an omen and sign to Anchises (ii, 692 ff.). As he prepares to leave Troy, a little more precision is given to his quest by Creusa's mention of Hesperia and the Tiber (ii, 891 ff.). He starts on his voyage, steering by guess and by God: "auguriis agimur divum" (iii, 6); "incerti quo fata ferant, ubi sistere detur" (iii, 7); "dare fatis vela" (iii, 9); "feror exul in altum" (iii, 11). This group of phrases from the opening lines of Book Three sufficiently proves the tentativeness of his expedition; and his perplexity is well expressed in the interrogative prayer he addresses to Phoebus at Delos, "quem sequimur? quove ire iubes? ubi ponere sedes?" (iii, 88); and the god, with characteristic ambiguity, bids them seek the ancient mother-land of the Trojans, a country which after much search and disappointment is discovered to be not Crete but Hesperia. The name *Italy* is heard for the first time by Aeneas in the prophecy of the Harpy (iii, 254), but by the middle of Book Three he is able to sum up all previous instructions in the phrase "cuncti suaserunt numine divi/Italiam petere et terras temptare repostas" (iii, 363-364). This is the limit of Aeneas' knowledge when he is wrecked on the African coast. This is the limit of his knowledge all through his stay at Carthage. It is not till Jupiter sends Mercury to upbraid him that there is any mention of "Romanas arces"

(iv, 234) or "Romana tellus" (iv, 275): and this hint is so little understood that Aeneas in his defence to Dido makes no reference to any other object in his voyage but to gain in Italy a site for a new Troy and a kingdom for his son. If any excuse can be offered for the delay in Carthage, it amounts to this—that Aeneas did not yet know *all* that was imperilled by his idling with Dido: he had had only a partial revelation of what was involved. Apart from this, he was supine, forgetful, disobedient to the orders he had received; and in Book Three he had spoken so feelingly about his exile and homelessness that Dido might be pardoned for assuming that he was willing to settle at Carthage and thus create a joint-nation of Tyrians and Trojans.

We, the readers of the epic, are allowed at the beginning of the First Book to know more about the future than Aeneas; for Virgil deliberately invests his hero with a special importance and significance by showing us how essential he is in the grandiose plan which Jupiter has put into operation. After the storm the scene shifts to heaven; and we see Jupiter deep in meditation as he stands at the pinnacle of the sky and turns his eyes towards the African coast where Aeneas has just been wrecked. He comforts his daughter Venus with a preview of destiny as it affects the Trojans down to the Empire of Augustus: and if we read with the awareness and historical sense of one of Virgil's contemporaries, we can imagine how critical at this juncture Aeneas' surrender or victory must have appeared and how gravely the civilizing and law-giving function of Rome in the world is endangered by the wiles and temptations of the "Tyrii bilingues". But as we hear the Father of gods and men revealing his purpose to Venus, we are assured that in that serene will and intelligence there can be no fear or changing: "manent immota . . . fata, . . . neque me sententia vertit" (i, 257 ff.). Of all the portrayals of gods in the *Aeneid* this is the one I like best. Jupiter appears in the *Aeneid* only thrice as the supreme ruler. In each passage he has a serene and tranquil aloofness from the turmoil of conflict, the repose and patience of one whose will and purpose are single, sure and unalterable.

But to return to Aeneas—to an educated Roman what would perhaps most appeal in Aeneas would be his power of oratory.

In the First Book he makes four speeches—one to his men after the storm, one to his mother when she meets him near Carthage, another to Achates as he views the mural pictures of Troy in the Carthaginian temple, and the last to Dido herself when he suddenly appears before her. In all these utterances Virgil has endowed his hero with a unique power of grave and ceremonious rhetoric ; and this is especially marked when he addresses the Queen herself and, speaking with an elaborate politeness, praises her generosity with a felicitous grandeur of compliment. This rhetorical accomplishment is a marked feature in Aeneas' character : there are few occasions when he fails to decorate his feelings with appropriate words : and therefore it is all the more notable when on one occasion at least his facility fails him and in the presence of Dido's overwhelming contempt and fury he finds nothing to say : she leaves him "*multa metu cunctantem et multa parantem dicere*" (iv, 390), surely one of the most unenviable situations in which an orator ever found himself.

It would be wrong, however, to give the impression that Virgil depicts his Aeneas as entirely apathetic and unfeeling. Within a certain range of topics (the memory of Troy, his own sad wanderings, his filial duty, the care of his people) he is a man of much sensibility. You recall his emotion on seeing the mural pictures of the Trojan war. There is a melancholy about the recollection of his experiences in the war and on the sea which somehow partakes of the human and sympathetic nature of Virgil himself. He has a deep care for his followers. He thinks tenderly of his young son. Above all, he has a noble affection for his father—the emotion which, I think, is the strongest in his character, far stronger and more fundamental in him than any love for women, for Creusa, for Dido, for Lavinia. This filial love for Anchises is seen in his behaviour during the sack of Troy, in his deference towards the old man in the voyage of Book Three, in the touching words of farewell he uses of his father—"*omnis curae casusque levamen*" (iii, 709), in the elaborate funeral games which in Book Five he institutes in his honour, and in the descent to the underworld which he makes for the sake of Anchises. I know no scene in Roman literature more touching and moving than the meeting in Avernus between

father and son, and the old man's joy to find that his good son has been faithful :

venisti tandem, tuaque expectata parenti
vicit iter durum pietas . . .
quam metui ne quid Libyae tibi regna nocerent !
(vi, 687-688 and 694)

All who cared for Aeneas feel anxiety about the visit to Carthage. Jupiter watches because of his long-term plans for Rome ; Venus fears because she suspects the schemes of Juno ; and Anchises, too, in the Underworld, considering with prophetic knowledge the future history of his family and race, is filled with dread as he realizes how much depends on the obedience and rectitude of his son in this emergency.

When Aeneas, after the storm in Book One, comes to land on the coast of N. Africa, the poet (with the anachronistic licence of a story-teller) imagines that Punic settlers from Tyre are building their new city of Carthage under the direction of Queen Dido. They, like the Trojans, are exiles from their native land : they too have come Westwards in search of a new country : and they are more fortunate than Aeneas' followers in having found a place and largely completed the building of their city. But they are in hostile territory : they are surrounded by African tribes which only the most stringent military precautions have prevented from destroying the infant kingdom. All this Dido herself apologetically explains to the Trojans who first came to her court :

res dura et regni novitas me talia cogunt
moliri et late fines custode tueri.
(i, 563-564)

Her young state is just managing to maintain itself : its political independence is threatened by the Libyans : and for political reasons it would welcome the accession of strength which could be added from union with such a famous and war-like people as the Trojans. That is a consideration present in Dido's mind at her first meeting with the Trojans—before she had any idea that Aeneas was near. You remember her words to Ilioneus :

vultis et his mecum pariter consistere regnis ?
urbem quam statuo, vestra est.
(i, 572-573)

She is well-disposed to the Trojans : but her willingness to have them arises from *statesmanship*, not from personal feeling, admiration, pity or love.

As one considers Virgil's portraiture of Dido, the quality of statesmanship is what most strikes us in her. In Virgil's own inimitable paradox, "*dux femina facti*" (i, 362). She has been the author of the idea : she has planned and led the whole enterprise : she rules her people, making laws for them and dispensing justice to them : the energies of her citizens find scope and occupation under her view and encouragement : she is the central person in the state and it is the consciousness of her presence that inspires the workers who are raising the structures of temples, theatres, public and private dwellings, and transforming what had been a village of huts into a magnificent city. Dido had come through great tribulation. As a young girl in Tyre, she had been married to Sychaeus, whom she loved with a passionate devotion. He had been murdered by her own brother Pygmalion in the first year or so of their marriage, and a young widow she mourns "like a virgin, girded with sack cloth, lamenting for the husband of her youth". Her love in its completeness had been given to Sychaeus, "*magno miserae dilectus amore*" (i, 344). As her lover and her husband, he has all her heart, and the devotion is strengthened and spiritualized by his tragic loss. She had rejected all other suitors for her hand. She felt herself still united to Sychaeus "in socios annos". He is her religion, she communes with him in worship and prayer : and it is by the advice of his spirit that she gathers together a company of Tyrians who wish for a new realm and sails with them for Carthage. Outwardly she finds comfort in giving herself to her people. Personally and privately, she believes herself still united in spirit and mind to Sychaeus : this is her faith, her religion, her most sacred and intimate consecration, which she cannot violate without treason to him and sin against her own spiritual being.

Mythology and ancient poetry are full of the casual love-affairs of voyaging heroes. One need only name Odysseus and Calypso, and Jason and Hypsipyle. Both Homer and Apollonius Rhodius had set a model for Virgil, which he used in making

Queen Dido fall in love with Aeneas. I wonder whether at first he intended to make their encounter more than a conventional epic *amour de voyage* : but the historical enmity between the Roman and Carthaginian peoples must have suggested to him a deeper treatment of the severance between these two persons whom he represents as the primæval founders of the two cities : and as he developed this personal quarrel, making it the symbol and prophecy of the greater national war that was to follow in history, the tragedy and pity of Dido's fate drew out his human sympathy for the forsaken and heartbroken woman—so that, with an understanding and a psychological insight worthy of Euripides, he has given a gratuitous picture of a great passion and a great disillusionment leading to a repentance which demands death, not in expiation of guilt, but as a self-rehabilitation, a recovery of self-respect and good name, a return to the purity and immaculate spiritual love which she had once had for her lost husband Sychæus.

The psychological shock which came to Dido in the unexpected and devastating death of Sychæus had seemed to atrophy her feelings and, except for the memory of her husband and devotion to her people, to have left her impervious to any sentimental emotion. What shocks her after the arrival of Aeneas is to discover that her heart is not dead, to find that this distinguished and melancholy stranger with his tale of misfortune and pilgrimage excites her sympathy, her pity, her warm interest and soon her uncontrollable love. Her devotion to Sychæus is no longer entire. Her will is to remember and worship him still : but her heart refuses to be controlled by will or mind and is inflamed with a passion which is at once so unwelcome and so overmastering, so repugnant to the mind and so tyrannical to the senses, that only the power of a god like Cupid seems adequate to account for its hated and yet enthralling force. We see Dido in this emotional conflict at the opening of Book Four—trying from love to Sychæus to suppress the new passion, yet appalled to find how naturally and quickly it grows until nothing else matters except the satisfaction of this physical passion. To the queenly Dido, the statesmanlike ruler, the proud and serenely self-sufficient woman, this passion

seems irrational and irrelevant : but it so tumultuously shakes her being and so makes her neglect all other interests that, against her better mind, unwillingly but helplessly, she yields to what is stronger than she—condemning herself for so doing, judging her surrender as a betrayal, an infidelity, a *culpa*, justifying her association with Aeneas by the specious name of *coniugium* while all the time she knows that, if Aeneas should decide to leave her for Italy, her own action has been a personal dishonour, a faithless rejection of what she had most esteemed (iv, 552, “non servata fides cineri promissa Sychaeo”). And she so deplores this irrational necessity which has come upon her, that she envies the innocence and freedom of the wild creatures (cf. iv, 551-552, “non licuit thalami expertem sine crimine vitam degere, more ferae, talis nec tangere curas”).

When Dido discovers that Aeneas is resolved to go, she is transformed by a fury of anger and disillusionment. Instead of the beautiful and dignified queen, she becomes a vengeful and uncontrollable woman whose passionate energies are directed to hatred and punishment : “varium et mutabile semper femina” (iv, 569-570), says Mercury to Aeneas, giving our somewhat naive and quiescent hero his first instruction in feminine psychology. Indeed one cannot study Aeneas’ conduct in the Fourth Book without feeling that a simple-minded innocence and lack of savoir faire are more the cause of his entanglement than any heartlessness or selfishness. He drifts into the love-affair : he drifts into the position and duties of consort : he acquiesces in each phase of the relationship : and really there is much truth in the final defence which he makes to Dido, that he didn’t himself seek this entanglement, but somehow found himself in it (iv, 338-339, “nec coniugis unquam/prætendi taedas aut haec in foedera veni”). It is perhaps this righteous ineptitude that fundamentally disappoints and shocks us in Aeneas. He is not a bad or unkind man : he has more than his share of the virtues and faithful loyalties which affection or duty calls for in a son or father or leader. He is indeed *pious Aeneas*. But the thousand considerations which tenderness or pity, or even diplomacy, might suggest as proper at a moment of farewell—of these Aeneas had no awareness as he proceeds in the

unemotional logic of his apologia. Dido resents the inhumanity of it all—

num fletu ingemuit nostro ? num lumina flexit ?
num lacrimas victus dedit aut miseratus amantem est ?

(iv, 368-369)

“ Did he sigh when I wept ? did he move those hard eyes ? did he break down and shed tears, or pity her that loved him ? ” Aeneas the good, the brave, the true, the pious, but unimaginative, sailed away, and the queen stabbed herself to death on a funeral pyre piled high with the gifts which her lover had given her. The next time they meet is in the Underworld : and then Aeneas tries to apologize, not for his leaving Carthage (that was inevitable), but for his failure to realize what it meant to the queen : “ nec credere quivi hunc tantum tibi me discessu ferre dolorem ” (vi, 463-464). By poetic justice it is now Dido who coldly disregards Aeneas’ protestations. “ She stood with averted head, and eyes on the ground, and suffered her countenance no more to change at his words than if she had been a statue of granite or Parian marble ” (vi, 471 ff.).

Such was Dido. In what crucible of love and pity and imagination did Virgil fuse the elements that are blended so well in her character ? She is the only personage in the *Aeneid* who really *lives*. Compared with her, Aeneas is a walking and talking morality. Virgil has endowed him with the virtues, but they do not coalesce into a personality. But Dido, so unessential to the story, comes alive. Whether we recall her as she first appears—a queen, tall, dignified, golden-haired, young, beautiful, sad in her memory, but happy in her constructive work ; or in the conflict of her spirit as she fights the irruption of an unwanted but irresistible passion ; or in the final scene when she takes farewell of life—in every scene Dido is credible and convincing, the most lovable and endearing of all doomed and tragic figures in literature. She is never conventional : she is unique, generous, noble-minded, able, beautiful, stately, young in age, experienced in sorrow, but not subdued by Fate, resistant, proud, vigorous, human, self-sufficient—alas ! it was her self-sufficiency that was her undoing.

The pity was that this human passion and involvement

occurred at a time which was critical and momentous for the high politics of Heaven—"tanto . . . cardine rerum" (i, 672). We may have seen, in our own experience, the ordinary elevated to importance by a fortuitous set of circumstances; and so here the relationship of Aeneas and Dido is charged with significance because the moment is critical for the divine plan. It could have been a human passion involving no more than the emotions of two human beings, if only the deities had not intervened to forward or protect or thwart purposes far beyond the limits of human perception. The purpose of heaven is good in its far distant completion: for the gods deal in distant futures. Meantime Aeneas is a necessary element in the advancement of the plan, and as such is rescued; while Dido as a danger to its progress is discarded.

ITALIAN HUMANISM AND SPANISH HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

A Study of the *Paralipomenon Hispaniae* of Joan Margarit, Cardinal Bishop of Gerona

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DESPITE the varied interpretations of the concepts Middle Ages and Renaissance, it seems impossible to alter one fact. These two periods were created by the writers of the *quattrocento* to express their conviction that a new age had been born in contrast to the preceding one. The statements of the leading literary figures indicate that their works were created after an imitation of classical antiquity, rejecting the artistic outlook of the intervening centuries. The *quattrocento* was, in effect, like many other movements in the history of Christendom, a choice of an ideal in the remote past that provided an *exemplum vitae* through which life could be reborn in a fuller and more satisfying way. For fifteenth century Italy this ideal was symbolized in the achievements of the Greco-Roman civilization. As a main consequence, success lay in the proper use of classical Latin and the formal models proposed by the 'classic' writer.¹

Such a revaluation of outlook necessarily affected the science of history. The same rejection of the methods of the immediate past is evident in the declaration of Flavio Biondo to Alfonso V of Aragon. He stated that for some twelve hundred years, after Orosius to be exact, no proper historians had existed.² Again, in the field of education, history, as a mirror of the past, became a *magistra vitae*. Both Vergerius and Leonardo Bruni placed

¹ For a review of the problem of definition of the terms *Renaissance* and *Middle Ages*, see F. Chabod, 'Il Rinascimento', *Problemi Storici e Orientamenti Storiografici* (Como, 1942). There is a representative bibliography appended. Also W. F. Ferguson, 'Humanist views of the Renaissance', *Am. Hist. Rev.* (1939-40).

² 'Hinc factum est, ut postquam Paulus Orosius, in Hispania tua genitus, brevem illam calamitatum orbis terrarum narrationem Aurelio Augusto cumulatavit, incerta habuerimus illa quae in Romani quondam imperii proviribus sunt gesta. Licet vero post ipsum Orosium nullus historiam scripserit.' E. Nogara, 'Scritti Inediti e Rari di Biondo Flavio', *Studi e Testi* (Roma, 1927), xlviii, 149.

it first among the liberal arts,¹ a sentiment echoed by such scholars as Guarino Veronese² and Aeneas Sylvius.³ It is superfluous to add that the language of such history would be Latin, the universal tongue and the vehicle for posterity. Bruni himself remarked that the Italian tongue was so plebeian that it would be impossible for a man of culture to write history with dignity in the vernacular. Without the Ciceronian care for expression and form, the memory would not draw the full lesson from the events described.⁴ The fact that out of humanist historical works arose archæology and philology in the modern sense is proof enough of an attempt to understand the mechanism of classical civilization.

The birth of Greek studies in Italy enlarged the field of the humanist historian considerably. Later, the court of Pope Nicholas V in Rome became a great translation centre of the Greek geographers and historians. Guarino translated Strabo, Trapezuntios Ptolemy, Valla Herodotus, and Poggio Diodorus Siculus. In the South of Italy, at the same time, Alfonso V displayed a great fondness for the study of history. 'Historias omnes coluit', says Aeneas Sylvius of him. His encouragement of the arts was such that most of the great historians of the epoch either served at the court of Naples or maintained correspondence with him.

Such was the situation in Italy about the middle of the fifteenth century.

¹ Vergerius, *De Ingeniis Moribus* (Ed. Woodward: Cambridge, 1897), p. 106. Bruni says in his letter to John II of Castile, 'Historia quoque magistra vitae quantum offerre regenti fructum potest, regum enim potentissimorum et principum, magnorumque populorum origines, factaque cognoscere tum ad voluptatem animi, tum ad disciplinam agendi multum admodum confert.' *Epistolae* (Basle, 1535), p. 328.

² Woodward, W. H., *A Review of Educational Aims and Methods of the First Century of Humanism* (Cambridge, 1897), p. 215, n. 9.

³ See preface to *Historia Rerum Friderici Tertii*, 'O veracem atque probatissimam Oratoris sententiam: historia testis temporum, lux veritatis, magistra vitae, nuntia vetustatis. Laudandi ergo vetusti seculi reges, quibus id studii fuit, res suae ut accurate conscriberentur aetatis, ex quibus fructum posteritas omnis haurit.' (Ed. Boeclerus: Argentorati, 1685).

⁴ Bruni, 'De Studiis et Litteris', *Sammlung selten gewordener pädagogischer Schriften des 16 und 17 Jahrhunderts* (Zschopau, 1880), vi, 9-10. 'Nam et litterae sine rerum scientia steriles sunt et inanes, et scientia rerum quamvis ingens, si splendore careat litterarum, abdita quidem obscuraque videtur.'

I

What effect did these new conceptions of the value of history and reverence for antiquity have upon contemporary historians in Spain, 'in extremo mundi angulo', as Bruni rather disparagingly remarked?¹ There are no similar expressions, as found among the Italians, of the contrast between Middle Ages and Renaissance. Despite the vulgarizing of several classical historians and the translation of works of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Bruni and Manetti, etc., into Castilian and other peninsular tongues, the few literati who were interested in Italian culture had a rather superficial idea of humanist aims. There was, however, an increased consciousness of the value of latinity, but the clumsy imitation of Latin in romance responded more to a superficial decoration in the medieval manner than to a desire to recreate in the image of the classics. In history there is a limited rebirth of historiography in Latin, but it did not show an equivalent interest in Roman civilization. Two examples of this are the *Anacephalæosis* of Alonso de Cartagena (m. 1456) and the *Historia Hispanica* of Ruy Sánchez de Arévalo.² Modelled on the thirteenth century history of Ximénez de Rada, Bishop of Toledo, they are more concerned with the Gothic heritage of Spain and subsequent history. The authors, however, are certainly conscious of the lack of information on early Spain. Alonso laments a little vainly that no-one can say who reigned in the peninsula before the Flood.³ Ruy Sánchez ascribes the paucity of information to the disregard of writers and the remoteness of Spain.⁴

¹ Alonso de Cartagena's attempt to justify the absence of humanist activity in Spain had called forth the contempt of Bruni. Alonso had claimed that the Italians had plenty of leisure for such pursuits. 'Hispanos vero quod regia cura sint occupati, calamo vacare non posse. Quasi vero Italia non Curiam habeant Romanam multo certe majorem, quam sit regia, et infinitas publicarum privatarumque rerum occupationes. Nec sane consentaneum est ut in extremo mundi angulo plus humanarum occupationum sit quam in medio.' *Epistolae* (Basle, 1535), p. 309.

² *Hisp. Illustr.*, i.

³ *Ibid.*, i, 249.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i, 121. Bruni's remark stings him deeply. 'Ceterum nonnulli Hispanas res legere dedignantur eo (ut puto) errore ducti quo nonnulli bonarum artium ac rerum inexperti, quod in angulo mundi (ut aiunt) Hispania sita esse videatur, contendunt, atque extra orbem posita (ut eorum verbis utar) ab orbis gloria aliena videatur.'

Remarks made by the latter during the course of his history insinuate that this writer at least experienced a particular reaction towards Italy and the Italians. Ruy Sánchez had travelled considerably and the last years of his life were spent as captain of the Papal fortress of Sant Angelo in Rome. He was therefore presumably conscious of the fact that the Italian writer of that age considered his race as the sole inheritor of the glory of Rome.¹ Was it in reaction to this attitude that he tried to prove the greater antiquity of Castile as compared to Rome and raise Viriatus, the conqueror of the Roman legions, to the status of a 'national hero'?²

At any rate these declarations in favour of a greater antiquity for his native kingdom seem to correspond to other literary statements of the period, all of which reflect the aspirations of Castile towards some greater fame and glory.³

This attitude to Spain's classical past revealed itself in other ways. Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, another contemporary chronicler, declaimed against those classical historians, who, though Spanish by birth, preferred to write about the Romans. Of Trogus Pompeius he exclaims,

' Aunque gran historial
Yo le reprehendo e acuso
Porque en sus obras non puso
La su patria occidental.' ⁴

Lucan, in his opinion, also belittles his country,

' Aya verguenza Lucano
Natural desta nacion

¹ See Burdach, *Sull' origine dell' Umanesimo* (Ital. trad., Florence, 1935), p. 77.

² *Hisp. Illustr.*, i, 130. 'Primo namque supponendum est, quod in Hispania, etiam in ea provincia quae Castella dicitur, fuerunt reges longe ante primam destructionem Troiae.'

Ibid., i, 126. 'Fuit autem Viriatus primum pastor, mox latro, mox acerrimus dux, ut xiiii annis Hispaniis dominaretur, tantos enim ad bellum populos convocavit ut saepe Senatus res Hispanicas deserere cogitat. . . . De huius Viriati moderatione, cultu et moribus statim dicimus, etc., etc.'

³ For the sentiments of *Imperialismo* and *Mesianismo* in fifteenth century Castile, see Américo Castro, *Aspectos del Vivir Hispánico* (Santiago de Chile, 1949), pp. 21-53.

⁴ Foulche Delbosc, *Cancionero Castellano del Siglo XV* (Madrid, 1912), i, 714.

Que tan singular mencion
 Fizo del cauto romano
 E asi encogio la mano
 Que quando alli la escribio
 De libertad olvido
 La virtud del reyno hispano.'¹

Not only had classical historians failed to commemorate Spanish deeds, but Castile itself had always had but little regard for antiquity, he adds, in the *Generaciones y Semblanzas*.² His sentiment is echoed by the Castilian translator of Boccaccio's *De Genealogia Deorum*, 'O gloriosa hedad la passada, quando ningun famoso fecho passava con somnolento silencio syn se perpetuar o por hedificio o por escriptura. . . . O perversa condicion del tiempo, la en que somos. O mundo inico el presente que antes se fallaran mill reprehensores que hun loador.'³

Despite such statements, however, no historian appears to have been moved to take up the study of classical antiquity in Castile. In the East, the general evidence of humanism is present in Catalonia earlier than in Castile, and one might have expected that the penetration of humanist ideas should have had some effect on the study of history. In the broad sense, this is not true. With one exception, Catalan historiography of the fifteenth century shows no response to an interest in classical antiquity. The *Libre de Feyts d'Armes de Catalunya*, which revealed a vast quantity of classical learning, has now been accepted as a literary forgery of the seventeenth century.⁴

Nevertheless, to a Catalan goes the honour of having first displayed in a historical work, the attitudes of the Italian humanists to history, adapted to the study of ancient Spain. The day that Joan Margarit i Pau, lamenting the exiguous manner in which Spain had been treated by Trogus Pompeius and Paulus Orosius, turned aside from the well-worn plan of the peninsular

¹ Foulche Delbosc, *op. cit.*, i, 709.

² (Ed. Clas. Cast., Madrid, 1941), p. 48. 'En Castilla ovo siempre e ay poca diligencia de las antigüedades, lo cual es grant dano.'

³ M. Schiff, *La Bibliothèque du Marquis de Santillane* (Paris, 1905), p. 336-337.

⁴ Coll i Alentorn, *El Problema de l'Autenticitat del Libre de Feyts d'Armes de Catalunya*.

chronicle devised by the Toledano, and immersed himself in the histories and geographies of Strabo, Ptolemy, Livy and Caesar to produce his *Paralipomenon Hispaniae*, marks a new phase in Spanish historiography. He was the first scholar in the peninsula to be able to express his patriotism in his work without distorting the classical heritage handed down by Greece and Rome, as we have seen in the remarks of Ruy Sánchez de Arévalo.

II

The activities of Joan Margarit i Pau cover the last half of the fifteenth century. He was born in or near Gerona c. 1421 and died in Rome in 1484. His works, however, do not reflect the very active life he led as an ambassador and councillor under Alfonso V and John II of Aragon. As a churchman, a cardinal and a bishop of Gerona, his concern was for transcendentals, as a humanist his language was Latin, the universal tongue. The only utterances we possess in romance are his various letters in Catalan contained in the Municipal Archives of Gerona and the discourse he pronounced in the *Corts* at Barcelona in 1454 to welcome John of Navarre as lieutenant of the Principate of Catalonia. None of his Latin writings is directed towards local problems. They are concerned more with the universal trends of European thought.

The Latin works of Margarit which remain extant to-day may be divided into three categories, politico-moral, oratorical and historical. His political and moral doctrines are contained in the *Templum Domini*¹ and the *Corona Regum*.² The first, written late in 1464, covers in historical retrospect the relationships of Church and State since biblical times to his day. The second is an educational guide to statesmanship addressed to Ferdinand II of Aragon. The oratorical work consists of an address to the Venetian Senate in 1481, in his capacity as ambassador to Ferdinand and Isabel.³ But it is the ten books of

¹ MS. 83, Archives of the Cathedral of Barcelona. Reprinted as an appendix to Fita y Colomer, *El Gerundense y la España Primitiva* (Madrid, 1879).

² MS. & III-I, Library of the Escorial.

³ Printed 24th July, 1481. See *Catalogue of Books printed in the XVth Century now in the British Museum* (London, 1916), Pt. iv, 127.

his history of ancient Spain that constitute Margarit's claim to a literary posterity.¹ This work reveals a further and vital link in the penetration of Italian humanism into Spain *via* Catalonia. Prior in date to the *muestra* for the *Antigüedades de España* of Nebrissa, the *Paralipomenon* symbolizes the creation of a venerable past for Spain to rival the example of scholarly research in Italy into classical antiquity, but without the artificial aid of such inventions as occur in the histories of Annius of Viterbo and Florian de Ocampo.

According to remarks in his other works, the *Paralipomenon* must have occupied Margarit throughout the greater part of his life.² He was continually recasting it, as the fragments of the five different versions of the manuscript of the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid will show.³ His death in 1484 prevented him from producing a final draft. The codex lay hidden for some seventy years and finally in 1545 it was printed from an extremely defective copy. Its appearance excited no comment of value, except that some of the more superficial judgments met with the displeasure of savants who had the advantage of half-a-century over Margarit in research and technique.

The only favourable opinions to be pronounced were those of his contemporaries, better placed to appreciate the advances he had made. Hilarion of Verona, the Benedictine theologian and Greek scholar, to whom he sent the manuscript for approval, said that it made Spain live before his very eyes and begged him to have it printed in Italy.⁴ Carbonell, the Catalan archivist and historian, in his *De Viris Illustribus Catalanis* calls it a worthy volume without going into greater detail.⁵ Vespasiano da Bisticci, the Florentine biographer and prominent man of

¹ References throughout are to the edition of Sancho Nebrija (Granada, 1545). I have used the copy in the Rylands Library, Manchester.

² He refers to it in the *Templum Domini*, Fita y Colomer, *op. cit.*, p. 137, 'libro quem de oblita antiquitate Hispaniae futurae posteritati conscripsi'.

³ MS. 5554. This has been described briefly by Fita, *op. cit.*

⁴ MS. f. 82r. See also Fita, *op. cit.*, p. 396. 'Fecisti, fateor, me eam oram Hispaniae non tam legere quam oculis ipsis quodammodo cernere et contemplari . . . est [librum] doctum, eruditum, elegans et facundum.'

⁵ *Colección de Documentos Inéditos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, xxviii-xxviii.

letters, offers a favourable judgment which reflects the friendship that existed between the author and the librarian.¹

From the middle of the sixteenth to the late nineteenth century, nothing but the harshest criticism appears and mostly for the same reasons. Ocampo recommends one to distrust the Bishop, classing him with a third-rate chronicler, Fray Juan de Rihuerga.² At least the bishop's mistakes can be traced in the main to simple misinterpretations of classical text. Ocampo, on the other hand, had a fertile imagination of his own; need we then give great weight to his opinion? The Flemish historian, Johannes Vaseus, was the first to impute errors to the actual published text of the *Paralipomenon*, 'non satis emendatum'.³ Nicolas Antonio gives a considered judgment that he was worthy of praise, had he not introduced several intolerable errors.⁴ It is unfortunate that Antonio devotes much more space to the errors than to the reasons for his praise. One of the authorities he quotes, Gaspar Escolano, dismisses the *Paralipomenon* as a 'manifesto borrón'. A glance at his own work, the *Historia Valentina*, indicates that he is not in a position to criticize others.⁵ The dangers of such evaluations as those of Antonio are more pronounced when they are transferred to compendiums like the encyclopedia of Catalan authors of Torres Amat, without any personal acquaintance with the work.⁶

España Sagrada and Villanueva's *Viaje Literario* offer little comment of importance upon it. It was not until Fita y Colomer produced his edition of the Capitular Acts of Alfonsello, vicar-general of Margarit in Gerona, that any attempt was made to study the work in detail.⁷ Fita's wholehearted defence of Margarit against his censurers was followed some years later by a brief discourse in which he described the manuscript of the *Paralipomenon* very summarily, accompanied by a first attempt

¹ Vite (Ed. Mai. Spicil. Rom., Rome, 1839), p. 143. 'Compose la storia del reame di Spagna, dove si trova ogni cosa degna di memoria infino a tempi sua.' (It would seem that Vespasiano had not looked very closely at the volume).

² Cirot, G., *Les Histoires Générales d'Espagne entre Alphonse X et Philippe II* (Bordeaux, 1904), p. 143.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

⁴ *Bibl. Hisp. Vet.*, ii. 320.

⁵ *Historia Valentina*, i, col. 172, n. 7.

⁶ Article Margarit y Moles.

⁷ *Los Reyes d'Arago y la Seu de Girona* (Barcelona, 1873).

at a biography.¹ This vindication of the Bishop probably carried Fita beyond the bounds of legitimate enthusiasm, but it is due to him that Cirot was able to evaluate the true worth of the *Paralipomenon*, and assign to it an outstanding place in Spanish historiography. He wrote, 'Au point de vue de l'historiographie, Jean de Girone paraît avoir été le principal rénovateur et le premier représentant indiscutable de la Renaissance en Espagne. Ceux qui l'ont précédé bien que quelques uns aient été imbus de l'humanisme, appartiennent encore au moyen âge, dont ils ont l'esprit et la forme scholastique et aux traditions ils conforment généralement leurs idées touchant les origines, sans rien apporter de nouveau.'²

From this period onward, Margarit has occupied a position of ever increasing importance. Fueter, in 1914, claimed him as the first disciple in Spain of Leonardo Bruni.³ Sánchez Alonso gives him the leading position in the epoch of historiography that stretches from the *Paralipomenon* to the chronicles of Ocampo.⁴ In his opinion this science suffered greatly from the disappearance of this work at the time of the popularity of the annals of Viterbo, which reintroduced so many fables into the conception of Spanish antiquity.

It is not our intention here to examine the scientific value of Margarit's treatment of history and geography, nor to support or refute the censures made by subsequent critics on his ignorance of ancient geography, nor indeed assess the truth of his own theories in comparison with modern knowledge. That is the province of the competent historian and archæologist. We shall be content to establish the extent to which the *Paralipomenon* reflects the penetration of new ideas from Italy, thus marking a new phase in Spanish historiography.

III

The main differences between Margarit's *Paralipomenon* and contemporary Spanish historiography are due to his connections

¹ See *El Gerondense y la España Primitiva* (Madrid, 1879).

² Cirot, *op. cit.*, p. x.

³ *Histoire de l'Historiographie* (French ed., Paris, 1914), p. 275.

⁴ *Historia de la Historiografía Española* (Madrid, 1941), i, 361.

with Italy. It is true that several of his fellow historians also spent long periods there, but they appear to have been largely insensitive to the revival of classical studies. Let us briefly recapitulate Margarit's relations with Italy. He was one of the few historians who were actually educated in Italy, at the university of Bologna, where he became a doctor in canon law.¹ Subsequently, he attended the courts of Alfonso V and Nicholas V, both of whom, as we have already mentioned, were prominent in the encouragement of historical studies. Margarit would also be in Rome at the time when the main translations of the Greek historians and geographers were being effected.² This covers the early part of his life from 1447-1453. The years 1459-1461 he spent as ambassador of John II at the Congress of Mantua, presided over by another great historian, Aeneas Sylvius, now Pius II, and attended by other scholars such as Flavio Biondo, Francisco Filelfo, Cardinal Bessarion and Ruy Sánchez de Arévalo from Castile. During part of his travels Margarit was accompanied by Vespasian da Bisticci, the Florentine historian and bookseller.

The personal relation of Margarit to particular humanists of the period is still extremely obscure. Apart from Vespasian, from whom he may have acquired his reverence for Leonardo Bruni,³ he had correspondence with the Greek scholar, Hilarion of Verona. In the latter part of his life, near 1470, he had an Italian secretary called Guarino di Novellis. And one must not forget that Geroni Pau, Spain's first hellenist according to Menéndez Pelayo, was his nephew.⁴

¹ Bologna is the first university to institute a chair of humanities at the beginning of the sixteenth century, which concentrated on *romanae antiquitates*. See G. Zaccagnini, *Storia dello Studio di Bologna durante il Rinascimento* (Geneva, 1930), p. 274.

² In the dedication of his *Orthographia* to Nicholas V, Giovanni Tortello, the librarian, mentions the importance of these historical translations. The sequence he places upon the various library activities is interesting. See Müntz et Fabre, *La Bibliothèque du Vatican au XVème Siecle* (Paris, 1887), p. 36. 'Video enim quantis impensis et sumptibus quantaque diligentia greca oratorum volumina historicorum et philosophorum atque summorum theologorum in latinam linguam traduci procuras.'

³ *Paralipomenon*, f. 7^r, 'nostre aetatis historiographorum princeps'.

⁴ *Ant. Poet. Lir. Cast.* (Madrid, 1908), xiii, 28.

From 1461 to 1481 he remained in Catalonia, during which time he wrote two other works, the *Templum Domini* and the *Corona Regum*, and presumably continued to compose his *Paralipomenon*. The remaining years of his life, 1481-1484, he spent at the pontifical court. He died in Rome in November, 1484.

To his contact with humanist Italy must be due his conception of the *Paralipomenon*. The recreation of ancient Rome was considered by the humanists in general as a basic perspective to universal history and in particular as the inheritance which placed Rome and the Vatican at the centre of the world. Margarit, as the subject of a kingdom on the periphery of that world, while recognizing the debt to classical culture, felt that the antiquity of *Hispania* should yield to none in august grandeur.¹

Margarit stands thus with one foot in Italy and the other in Spain. His aim is the enhancement of the Spanish peninsula, his technique is that of the Italian humanist.

IV

The works of Margarit, in general, like those of the majority of humanists, reveal a preoccupation with the larger perspectives of history. Even in his address to the *Corts* in Barcelona in 1454 he recalled the glory of Greece, a kingdom which their illustrious predecessors had conquered; and John II acquired from his oratory the aureole of a Roman hero, a Fabricius or a Camillus. Some ten years later, the *Templum Domini* is conceived as a study of the position of the monarchy with regard to spiritual authority from the earliest times to the present day. The *Corona Regum*, despite its ethical plane, is full of historical digressions.

This outlook is supported by a deep consciousness of the importance of the past. And by this past he appears to infer, not the recent past, but the study of origins. 'Quis enim', he declares, with a Ciceronian air, 'futuram agere vitam

¹ 'Quum vero compererint inter omnes mundi provincias maximam nobilissimamque Hispaniae antiquitatem maximis laudibus extollendam ab exterarum gentium commentariis ac variis libris atque descriptionibus labore maximo comprobata, non potui calamum continere.' *Paralipomenon*, f. 1v.

excogitat, qui diem sue nativitatis ignorat aut quis quo tendat scire potest, qui unde venit nesciat?'¹ He therefore finds it difficult to forgive past historians, whatever their intentions, for skating lightly over the earliest phases of Spanish history. In particular he accuses the Toledano of covering this period as if he were 'super prunas gradiens'.² This preoccupation with origins must be considered as a primary identification of Margarit's outlook with that of the humanists.

Margarit had therefore to create a new plan for his history whereby the early history of Spain would be decentralized from the universal frame of such works as that of Trogus Pompeius and act at the same time as a prologue to the many histories of the Goths in Spain. He states explicitly that he does not intend to go farther than the beginning of the Gothic reign since it had been treated so fully by previous writers.

This new plan seems to respond to the incidence of two forces; the contemporary humanist ideal of 'patria', expressed in the type of history termed 'publicist' by Fueter, like Bruni's history of Florence or Flavio Biondo's *Roma Triumphans*, and, secondly, a closer acquaintance with classical texts offered now a sufficient amount of new material to make such a plan feasible.

The *Paralipomenon* may be divided into four parts:

- (a) An ethnographical and topographical section . Bk. I
- (b) The history of Spain in the pre-Carthaginian
period Bks. II, III
- (c) The Punic Wars in Spain Bks. IV-VII
- (d) The Roman domination up to Caesar Augustus Bks. VIII-X

He had intended to extend his work up to the times of the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius,³ the period usually assigned by humanists as the beginning of the Dark Ages,⁴ but for some

¹ *Paralipomenon*, f. 1r.

² *Ibid.*, f. 1r. See also f. 8r. 'Rodericus Toletanus antiquitatem Hispaniae subticens vel ignorans neminem ante Geryonem . . . Geryonis gesta sicco pede pertransit, tanquam qui per ignotam provinciam fugitivus cupit ad notam sibi pertingere.'

³ *Ibid.*, f. 2r.

⁴ Biondo, *Decades* (Basle, 1531), i, 3. 'Culmen vero ipsum et tanquam verticem, Theodosii superioris quadragesimi tertii, ac decem annis postea Archadii et Honorii illius filiorum temporibus fuisse dicimus, quia licet multas clades, multa incommoda saepe antea passa esset res Romana.'

reason this was never carried out. As the Madrid MS. and the Nebrija edition both end at exactly the same place (the last paragraph of the MS. is in autograph), it is possible that the remainder was not lost but never completed.

The sections dealing with the Punic Wars and the Roman conquest belong to the well laboured field of classical history. But it is significant enough that this period is treated with comparative detail from Livy, Caesar, Suetonius and others for the first time, if one sets aside the *Primera Crónica General*. From these sources Margarit selects the relevant material, linking the episodes adequately with outside circumstance to prevent discontinuity.¹ He is not so apologetic for the use of purely Roman sources for the history of that period in Spain as Ambrosio de Morales, who, more conscious of the fact that a country ought to possess its *own* historical data, explains that it is not his fault if his first books appear rather a history of Rome than of Spain. The differences between the two works lies in the fact that Margarit was to a greater extent still under the influence of the didactic purpose of history, which for the humanist was best illustrated by the deeds of the heroes of Greece and Rome; while Morales from both patriotic and scientific motives was led to treat exclusively of Spain. Margarit tries to observe a middle way between the history of Rome and that of Spain, but his tolerant humanist criterion permits him to extend his scope now and again. He remarks on Caesar's prowess, 'eius facta adeo magna sunt, et a viris illustribus commendata ut debite debeat interseri, ne ab Hispanis ignorentur'².

The most original and interesting sections are (a) and (b). Here, Margarit deploys all his skill in blending together the new material at his disposal. Section (b) may invite a great deal of criticism, but we must not forget that he was breaking new ground with little scientific apparatus to guide him. Nevertheless, by treating his texts with circumspection, he succeeded in dispelling a great amount of fable.

This plan bears the influence of humanist historiography in

¹ *Paralipomenon*, f. 72r. 'Hunc tamen in eis explicandis observabimus modum, ut res extra Hispaniam gestas brevi relatione perstringam ceterae vero quae ad Hispaniam pertinet copiosa relatione describerentur.'

² *Ibid.*

its predominant interest in the investigation of antiquity, in the extensive chapters on topography, in the preoccupation for the deeds of the Greeks, Romans and Carthaginians. Again, as a true scholar, Margarit considered his work as a gift for posterity, a work of art launched into the future from which others might profit. 'Nos vero omnem antiquitatem amplectentes vetustiora Hispaniae gesta, quatenus ex approbatis scriptoribus comprobare potuimus, futurae posteritati decrevimus annotare.'¹

This is the bridge that spans the gap between Trogus Pompeius and the Isidore-Toledano type of peninsular history. It is an attempt to constitute the proper introduction to the history of Spain.

V

One of the essential differences of technique between the medieval chronicler and the humanist historian was the choice and treatment of sources. The early historians had, in the eyes of the fifteenth century, shown little systematic use of sources. There was no proper critical correlation and, above all, no sense of composition. This is clearly expressed in a dialogue of Aeneas Sylvius's. He declares, 'All that is written must not necessarily be believed, and only the canonical scriptures have undoubted authority. In other cases one must discover who the author is, what life he led, to what sect he belonged, and what is his personal worth. It is also necessary to consider with what other accounts he agrees, and from which he differs and whether what he says is probable and in accordance with the time and place of which he treats.'²

This doctrine could not be applied rigorously in the field of ancient history. However, the humanist historian will be careful to choose authors most approximate to the events dealt with. Such authors were naturally considered in the *quattrocento* as the Greek and Roman historians, who at the same time offered a model for the literary presentation of history. The humanist will also prefer to consult them in their original texts if possible, and not through medieval compilations. Thus these classics

¹ *Paralipomenon*, f. 8^v.

² C. M. Ady, *Pius II* (London, 1913), p. 299.

became at the same time, the most ancient testimonies and the 'approved authors'.¹

For the greater part of the fifteenth century in Spain those historians who concerned themselves with the ancient history of Spain brought no new contributions to the systematic investigation of the early periods through the use of the recently discovered classical texts. On the other hand, Margarit's desire to expand and reevaluate the sources used by previous chroniclers is evident from his introduction to the *Paralipomenon*. First of all he rejects the medieval historians. He refers to the Toledano as merely a 'tolerable' authority and subsequent writers as an ignorant horde, spreaders of dreams and prophecies.² It is not surprising that he mentions none of the local historians posterior to him. The trustworthy writers, Spanish by birth, are, according to his judgment, Trogus Pompeius, Orosius and Isidore. These remarks on the Toledano and his followers are among the first, if not the first reflection by a peninsular writer of a change in the critical attitude towards the immediate past that constituted the *raison d'être* of humanism.

His sources, following again the humanist plan, will be 'the most ancient testimonies', philosophers, historians and geographers. He is one of the first among his contemporaries to give a bibliography, although his presumption, as Nicolas Antonio has remarked, aims at an exhaustion of all classical material. A similar tabulation was given by Nebrissa at the beginning of the *muestra* for *Las Antigüedades de España*.

The list of books which he gives in this prologue is a true gauge of the age in which he moved. Out of the score of names

¹ Bruni, *Epistolae* (Basle, 1535), p. 318. 'Nullum denique nisi probatum et ab optimis auctoribus michi commendatum recipio'. See also Pius II's remarks on an early German chronicle he had used for his history of Frederick III. He concludes, 'cum rursus ex historiis approbatis Imperatorum et Pontificum nonnulla inserta compereris', *ed. cit.*, p. 5.

² *Paralipomenon*, f. 1v. 'Et quoniam inter omnes, quos memoria hactenus celebravit, quattuor recoluntur, quorum tres laudibiles, quartus vero tolerabilis iudicantur. Laudabilis enim Trogus Pompeius Hispanus, quem Iustinus mirabili eloquentia abbreviavit. Paulus Orosius Tarraconensis, et Isidorus Hispalensis: tolerabilis Rodericus Toletanus.' He does not mention anywhere the fact that Pomponius Mela was born in Spain. He follows the above statement with, 'Caeteri vero ignorantium caterva plurima, qui divinationes et somnia contextuerunt'.

quoted, fourteen are Greek. Although there are no indications that Margarit knew anything more than the Greek alphabet, he belonged to a period that was beginning to revere Greek culture as the source of Roman greatness.¹

A closer examination of the bibliography reveals that he knew few of them first hand. Hipparchus, Eudorus (Eudoxus?), Schosus (Sebosus?), Heratosthenes, Baeto, Themaus (Timaïos?), Artemidorus, Posydonius, Polybius were all known to him through the works of Diodorus, Ptolemy, Pliny and Strabo. Moreover, the names of the first three, the fifth and the sixth are never mentioned again in the text. This outward show is not detrimental to his position as an innovator. His merit lies less with the presentation of new material than with the ability to search out half-known texts and knit them into a reasonable homogeneous body.

His main sources of information are gained from a detailed manipulation of Strabo, Ptolemy,² Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, Justinus's abbreviation of Trogus Pompeius, Pliny, Mela, Livy,³ Caesar⁴ and his abbreviators, Florus: with minor references to Dionysius Periegetes, Solinus, Herodotus,⁵ Macrobius, Cicero, Sallust, Appian, Arrian, Aulus Gellius, Suetonius, Valerius Maximus, the Itinerary of Antoninus Pius and the poets Vergil, Lucan and Ovid. Ecclesiastical sources are not much in evidence, given the period under study. Beyond Augustine, Orosius and Firmianus Lactantius there are mentioned Isidore, William

¹ Bonilla y San Martín entertains the possibility that he had a knowledge of Greek. See *Fernando de Córdoba* (Madrid, 1911), p. 26, and it will be noted that the establishment of the chair of Greek in Bologna university dates precisely from the years when Margarit was in attendance. See Zaccagnini, *op. cit.*, p. 112. But from the evidence of his works it seems extremely doubtful. Nevertheless, he always showed a keen interest in the Greeks and their history. The MS. of the *Paralipomenon* contains a whole chapter on 'Unde Greci originem trahunt', later deleted. See ff. 69^v-75^r.

² *Paralipomenon*, f. 2^v. 'Totius artis splendorem et constantem artificem Claudium Ptolomeum.'

³ *Ibid.*, f. 30^v. 'Cui magis standum est.'

⁴ *Corona Regum*, f. 25^v. 'Vir et litteris eruditissimus et eloquentissimus cui testimonium prestant eiusdem Cesaris comentaria sua propria manu conscripta.' This may be an echo of Bruni's veneration. 'Livium dico et Sallustium Tacitumque et Curtium et in primis Cesarem ipsum et res gestas suis commentariis summa facilitate venustateque explicantem.' *De Studiis et Litteris*, ed. cit., p. 10.

⁵ *Paralipomenon*, f. 8^r. 'Autem Grecorum historicorum maximus.'

Durandus, Papias and Flavius Josephus. The moderns whom he deigns to quote are all Italian humanists, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Leonardo Bruni and Sozomenus of Pistoia.

The last named merits special mention. The *Chronicon Universale* of Zosimus or Zozomenus Pistoriensis, which contains the history of the known world from the creation to his own day, was greatly in vogue throughout Europe during the fifteenth century. The first volume, ending at the battle of Pharsalia, is the only extant book of Margarit's library.¹

The ease with which Margarit handles these sources reveals that he had taken great pains to become conversant with his material. The method by which he sets out to prove that the North border of Spain is the Northern frontier of Roussillon is illustrative of this.² When two authorities clash, as, for example, Strabo and Ptolemy, in the distribution of tribes in the southwest of Spain, he gives his own opinion.³ Strabo and Ptolemy seem to be his favourite authorities, but he sacrifices the statements of the former to the evidence of the Ecclesiastical Councils⁴ and that of navigation charts, an interesting innovation.⁵ Here and there, as in the introduction, Margarit makes a parade of references which add nothing useful to the text. Such is the case with Dionysius Periegetes and Solinus.

It was his preoccupation with the antiquity of his sources that tempted him to such displays of shadowy erudition.⁶ This insistence on using wherever possible the most ancient account becomes very prominent when the MS. is compared with the printed work. For example, he uses Petrarch's abbreviated biography for Caesar's early life. But for the more detailed descriptions of campaigns he goes back to the original sources of the *De Bello Civili* or the *De Bello Hispaniense*.⁷ In initial

¹ MS. 758 of the Library of the University of Barcelona. It is an expensively copied work on vellum and paper, with an illuminated frontispiece bearing the bishop's arms. ² *Paralipomenon*, f. 6r. ³ *Ibid.*, f. 11r. ⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 3r. 'Quod ipsi probavimus cum carta navigabili', and f. 3v. 'Nostra autem mensuratio experimento numerata est ex carta navigantium.'

⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 2v. 'Utarque praeter antiquorum morem testimonio scriptorum maxime circa antiquiora ne legentes me deliberasse aut confinxisse vetustiora opinentur.'

⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 69v. 'Ideo Caesarem sequar in Commentariis quem in omnibus potissimum sum secutus.'

versions of the MS. he draws his references from medieval historians much more frequently. In the later ones, the names of Priscianus, Isidore and Vincent de Beauvais tend to disappear and be replaced by classical historians.¹

VI

From the days of Petrarch the study of geography began to play a greater part in the science of history writing. Initially it was particularly true of the history of Italy, and the desire to recreate the campaigns and voyages of the old heroes led to many attempts to identify modern names with old and to elucidate the meanings of the original place names. The Poet, in the wide sense accorded to the word by Boccaccio, ought to possess, besides other knowledge, 'a strong and abundant vocabulary, to behold the monuments and relics of the ancients, to have in one's memory the histories of the nations, and to be familiar with the geography of various lands, of seas, rivers and mountains.'²

Boccaccio provided a model for a geographic vocabulary, while Petrarch was supposed to have collaborated on a map of Italy. By the fifteenth century, this combination of the two sciences had given such works as the *Italia Illustrata* and *Roma Instaurata*, which were also to serve as guides for a form of historical geography, where the past is thrown into perspective from the present by the identification of antique and modern names, 'conferendis priscorum cum praesentibus locorum nominibus'.³ The *Europa* and *Asia* of Aeneas Sylvus are also examples of the increased interest in geography and ethnography.

¹ For example MS., f. 29^r. 'Alia enim nova carthago spartaria secundum Isidorum appellata.'

Paralipomenon, f. 27^r. 'Alia enim nova carthago Spartaria secundum Strabonem appellata.'

See also MS., f. 119^v, 122^v, 129^v. There are many other examples.

² *De Genealogia Deorum*, xiv, 7.

³ Nogara, *op. cit.*, p. 163. See also preface to *Italia Illustrata* (Basle, 1531), p. 293. 'Tentare volui si, per eam quam sum nactus Italiae rerum peritiam vetustioribus locis eius et populis nominum novitatem novis auctoritatem, deletis vitam, memoriae dare, denique rerum Italiae obscuritatem illustrare potero.'

Wherever the Pope went, some name brought back to him the echo of ancient history, and his ultimate aim was to produce from the fragments of these two works a full *Historia rerum ubique gestarum locorumque descriptio*.¹

In Spain, before Margarit, there was little evidence of this method of treatment of history. The descriptions that served as introductions to chronicles of the fifteenth century were usually brief and concerned with modern territorial divisions.²

Margarit treated the geographical, ethnographical and historical aspects of ancient Spain in series. His method is to relate the establishment of particular settlements to each successive invading group, after having traced the origins of the invaders. Up to Roman times there had been six invasions, the Cetubales, Igletae, Sicani, Iberians³ and Celts, Greeks and Carthaginians. Of the earliest settlements he is careful only to admit Scalabius, now Lisbon, from its connection with Abius, Gerona, through Geryon, related to Cacus, and an Iberia at the mouth of the Ebro which he claims to have found in Livy. To this he adds the cautious conclusion, 'Et si quae aliae sunt, quia de illis probata non mostrantur testimonia, ommittuntur'.⁴ He then relates these antique settlements to their present location. 'Plurimi sunt qui sua nomina mutaverunt taliter quod difficillimam reddant lectionem rerum.'⁵ The purpose of a series of chapters on the rivers, mountains, provinces and towns of ancient Spain is to connect past history with the present 'ne legentes avertantur a sensu historicae'. This is the first example of *De Montibus, Fluminibus* type of history in Spain where the classical names are

¹ See Voigt, *Enea Silvio* (Berlin, 1856), ii, 302-303 and *Il Risorgimento dell' Antichità Classica* (Ital. trans. Florence, 1888), ii, 497.

² The *Anacephalaeosis* (ed. cit.) has one folio only, pp. 248-249. The *Historia Hispanica* (ed. cit.) has two chapters, pp. 127-130.

³ Sánchez Alonso praises him for asserting the Asiatic origin of the Iberians, *op. cit.*, i, 362. This discovery appears to be the result of finding another Iberia in the Middle East, in Bk. V of Ptolemy's *Cosmography*. The migration of the Iberians to Ireland and thence to Spain is due to Priscianus. In later years the position became reversed, and Geroni Pau, quoting Dionysius Periegetes, states that the Iberians from Spain settled that part of Asia. *De Fluminibus, etc., Hisp. Illustr.*, ii.

⁴ *Paralipomenon*, f, 8v.

⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 10v.

juxtaposed to the modern systematically.¹ Thus Belon is now Tarifa, Mellaria Algeciras, Sisapo Xeres, Lavara Oporto, Agrippa Saragosa, and Octogesam Hitona, to mention just a few. Some are obvious mistakes such as the identification of Coimbra with Munda, the location of Bilbilis in Urgell, and Medinaceli among the Iltergetes. He is also interested in towns which exist no longer, shadows of Spain's past greatness. He devotes a chapter apart to them, quoting Strabo's statement that many had been supposedly destroyed by the Romans. Strabo, nevertheless, remains sceptical on this point, but Margarit appears to believe more readily the extent of Roman destruction. However, he only mentions thirteen, several of which are fabulous. Such are Calpe or Heraclea, which Strabo does not mention as a settlement. His personal foible is the identification of Cartago Vetus, which he found in Ptolemy, with Vilafranca del Panadés, because of the identity Poenitense-Panadés.

The most interesting settlements without doubt are those of Saguntum, Emporion, Rodes and Numantia, for in each case he infers that he has visited the sites. This is surely one of the first extensive traces of interest in ruins of the classical age in the peninsula. He attempts first of all to locate Saguntum, deducing from Ptolemy, Strabo and Livy that it must be about four leagues from Valencia and a few miles from the shore, thus rejecting the theories that it was Segontia or Medinaceli. To-day, he concludes, nothing but the old earthworks of the city remain.² Similarly he produces Ptolemy, Strabo and Florus to disprove the assumption that Numantia was Saragosa or Zamora.³ He was unfortunately rather out when he accepted Strabo's statement that it was 800 stadia from Saragosa and just above the

¹ *Paralipomenon*, f. 13^r. Alonso de Palencia had planned such a work also. *De los nombres ya olvidados o mudados de las provincias y ríos de España*. See Paz y Melia, *El cronista Alonso de Palencia* (Madrid, 1914), p. xxv. Geroni Pau, Margarit's nephew, carried this type of work, common in Renaissance Italy, to more poetic than geographic ends in his *De Fluminibus et Montibus Hispaniae*, *Hisp. Illustr.*, ii.

² *Ibid.*, f. 17^v. 'Sola antiqua arcis menia extant, unde a successoribus muri veteres dicti sunt, et a modernis Murvietus oppidum dictum est.'

³ Zamora had been popularly identified with Numantia since the earliest days. Menéndez Pidal quotes an epitaph of Sancho el Fuerte 'occisus apud Numantiam', *La España del Cid* (Madrid, 1947), i, 186. This error lasts up to the beginning of the sixteenth century.

bank of the Ebro. His merit, nevertheless, is to have examined this assertion of Strabo's on the spot. 'Vidimus ipsis oculis situm permissis autoribus concorditatem.'¹ The description of Emporion he borrows from the well-known passage in Livy on the arrival of Marcus Portius Cato in Spain. He is personally greatly impressed by the sight of the ruins. 'Quanta fuerit ostendunt ruine ac vestigia collapsae urbis.'² Compared with this there is little left of the nearby site of Rodes, which had held a bishopric for 600 years.³

It is these interludes of geography that place a more personal cachet on the *Paralipomenon*. Despite the general nature of the work, one can feel a natural preoccupation with Catalonia. No one but a Catalan would devote a whole chapter to the proof that Roussillon lay within the borders of Spain, a clear reflexion of the attempts of Louis XI of France to incorporate it in his dominions.⁴ Margarit treats Caesar's campaigns round Lérida in much greater detail than those in the rest of Spain. In geography, Montseny, Montjuich, the Costa de Garraf, Junqueres, Tarragona, Vilafranca del Panadés, Gerona are all given important mention. And in conclusion, might not the location of Numantia near Saragosa, and Bilbilis the birthplace of Martial in Urgell, be an effort at claiming their glory for the kingdom of Aragon and Catalonia?

Margarit was unique in the Peninsula in his consistent use of the classical geographers, matching their statements, and then in some cases, giving a final eyewitness judgment. Like the Italian humanist, he was conscious of the echo of antiquity in his surroundings. What before had evoked the Goths and the *Reconquista* now carried the august memories of Greeks and Romans.

VII

For ancient history, the chronicler was forced in many cases to rely on myth in the absence of any more concrete source. The Middle Ages did not regard this information as pure invention, but absorbed it into its own scheme of things, made it

¹ *Paralipomenon*, f. 18^v.

² *Ibid.*, f. 19^v.

³ *Ibid.*, 'eiusque pauca admodum vestigia manent'.

⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 5^v. 'De terra Ruscilionis an sit in Hispania'.

assume a deeper reality which was another aspect of the essential Christian truths. The systems of interpretation of classical myths followed somewhat the same lines throughout the Middle Ages until an increased interest in the civilizations of Greece and Rome brought about the systematic correlation and explanation of the ancient mythology in the *De Genealogia Deorum* of Boccaccio.

Of the various theories concerning mythology, Boccaccio employs most frequently the literal, the moral and the anagogical interpretation. The poet and the creative artist were more interested in the two latter, while the historian preferred the first. The euhemeristic explanation was already a pronounced current within patristic works since Augustine's interpretation of Varro's doctrine in the *De Civitate Dei*. Together with Lactantius's remarks on Poetic Licence in his *Institutiones Divinae* they form the basis for the theory that the gods were in reality eminent men deified by legend.¹

Margarit approaches the question of myth through Boccaccio. He puts forward both the literal and moral interpretation. In Chaps. V, VI of the *Templum Domini* he restates these theories with quotations from Augustine, Lactantius, Orosius, Diodorus Siculus and Vergil rather than Boccaccio. He describes the birth of sun worship among the Chaldees which spread to Egypt under the guise of the adoration of Isis and Osiris. Ninus first began the worship of temporal things when he created a cult of his father. Cadmus brought these rites to Greece, when he arrived in pursuit of his sister Europa, abducted by Jupiter, son of Saturn and king of Crete. These and subsequent historical incidents, he declares, have been obscured by the poets, especially the Greeks, who have clothed them in a series of sycophantic verses full of errors and lies. But one must not be misled, 'nec tamen dubium est eos omnes homines fuisse mortales, de quibus quae conscripti veraci historia comperiuntur ennucleandum est'.² For it is the office of the poet to explain things in an oblique and hidden way.³

¹ See C. G. Osgood, *Boccaccio on Poetry* (Princeton, 1930), Introduction.

² *Templum Domini*, p. 115.

³ *Paralipomenon*, f. 16^r. 'Officium poetae in eo sit, ut ea quae vere gesta sunt, in alias species obliquis figurationibus cum decore aliquo conversa traducet.' This is taken from Lactantius, *Divinae Institutiones*, i, 2.

It is evident from the above remarks that Margarit did not ascribe to the Greek poets all the nobility and dignity with which Boccaccio regarded them. He inclines very definitely to the historical interpretation, and hardly ever to the allegorical. In this he is strongly influenced by the harsh judgments meted out to the pagan gods by Lactantius, who treats them as semi-barbarians.

The main mythological interlude in the *Paralipomenon* is a study of the presence of Hercules in Spain, where the main aim seems to be the condemnation of this mythical hero.¹ In this he follows an interpretation which had been forgotten since Lactantius.² First of all, like Boccaccio, he distinguishes between various Hercules and infers that it is a generic name. But instead of four Hercules, Margarit produces seven, the most important of whom he identifies with Samson, that is, he of the twelve labours. He is followed by the Hercules of Greek mythology, son of Jove, king of Crete. The Spanish Hercules was a poor imitation of his forbears, born in adultery and led to Spain by the smell of booty after a series of criminal escapades such as the pursuit of the Golden Fleece.³ Margarit calls him 'sceleratissimus sceleratissimorum' and depicts him arriving as a fame-thirsty leader of a band of Greeks, building the pillars at the straits in imitation of those erected by the Egyptian Hercules, and murdering Geryon and Cacus for gain. He interprets Justinus's reference to the battle of the Titans and the gods in Spain as a defeat of some local warlike tribe by Hercules who had given himself out to be the other Hercules, son of Jove. Finally, he dismisses the legend that the Spanish Hercules dug the Straits to enhance his name.

¹ The first three chapters of Book II of the *Paralipomenon* are entitled *De adventu Herculis*, *De origine Herculis nostri et eius sceleribus*, *De pluribus aliis Hercilibus*. He has taken pains to consult a wide range of sources, even to 'graecis scriptoribus fragmenta' (*Paralipomenon*, f. 21^v). 'gratis' is a misprint for 'graecis'. See MS. f. 36^r.

² Lactantius, *op. cit.*, i, 9. 'Hercules, qui ob virtutem clarissimus et quasi Africanus inter deos habetur, nonne orbem terrae, quem peragrasse ac purgasse narratur, stupris aldulteriis libidinibus inquinavit? nec mirum, cum esset adulterio genitus Alcimena.''

³ *Paralipomenon*, f. 20^v. 'Non ergo quisquam putet hunc Herculem nostrum illum esse qui illa xxi [sic.] pericula superavit. . . . Hic enim noster sceleratissimorum sceleratissimus et omnium sui nominis deterrimus fuit.'

Margarit nowhere reveals a motive for turning away in this sole instance from popular tradition to the particular views of Lactantius. It may be that there was a certain patriotic motive similar to those we have already outlined in Section II. Hercules had always been considered as the initiator of the reign of great Spanish kings, starting with Hispanus, his son, who gave his name to the peninsula. The objection that a foreigner should have the honour of commencing the royal house is first put forth in the prologue of a contemporary history of Aragon by Gauberte Fabricio de Vagad, outspoken in his aversion to all that is not Spanish.¹ He declares quite bluntly that such an explanation is unpatriotic and against the evidence of history.² There is no evidence of any connexion between the two historians. Vagad's work was published long after Margarit's death. In any case, Margarit the humanist would have been deeply offended at the crass insults offered by Vagad to the Greco-Roman civilizations. But the common link of patriotism, uncontrolled in the latter by any critical judgment, joined both of them in their efforts to rehabilitate the past of the country.

This critical examination of Mythology does not appear so naive if we compare it to the declarations of historians both before and after Margarit. In his *Templum Domini*, he omits the legend of Roderick and la Cava. In the *Paralipomenon*, he disposes of the Almoniphides, the fabulous race which had invaded Spain after the Greeks, and whose existence remained unchallenged from the *Primera Crónica General* to the history of Charles of Viana.³ He also cautiously rejects the old legend

¹ 'Desengañense pues los tan engañados romanos y griegos que todo lo atribuyen a si y den gracias al tanto descuido de nuestros tan lerdos y olvidadizos escritores que tanto supieron del mucho callar.' *Crónica de Aragón* (Zaragoza, 1499), f. A iv^r.

² *Ibid.*, f. B. v^v. 'Nuestros escritores, no por cierto tan propios escritores quan borradores de la fama y verdad de la historia y prejudicadores de la honra de hespaña comiençan en el [Hercules] como en rey primero de hespaña, comiençan en un estrangero y dexan al natural, dexan al rey hespero rey tan excellente de hespana.'

³ *Primera Crónica General*, chap. 14, 'De cuemo los almuiuces [or almonices] ganaron Espanna et fueron sennores della.' Alonso de Cartagena, *op. cit.*, f. 250. 'Post haec gentes quaedam extraneae quae Almonizi vocabantur Hispaniam intrantes Graecos expulerunt et regnarunt in ea quadraginta annis.'

that when the Pyrenees took fire, the gold and silver ran out in streams. The fantasy of his compatriot Thomich over the Roman and Carthaginian periods has no place here, nor does Dionysius or Liber Pater visit Spain as in the prologue to Nebrissa's *Decades*.

Margarit, therefore, in his preference for the euhemeristic exposition of mythology, reflects the point of view of the growing Renaissance which took myth less seriously than the Middle Ages, regarding it more in the light of material for poetic ornament. Also, like Bruni, he tended towards the rejection of unnecessary legend both in ancient and modern times. Nevertheless, there exists a nuance which, in the future, will favour the introduction of fable whose purpose will be to extend and enhance the background to Spanish antiquity.

VIII

Although philology required another century for its development as a fruitful science, the study of place names as a key to their origin had been operative since the earliest days of written history. The Stoic writers were extremely fond of this approach and thus the growing interest in classical history and geography aided its development. In the *De Genealogia Deorum* etymological explanations were useful solvents of myth, but it was not until the following century that more systematic approaches appeared. During the *quattrocento*, the interest in grammar combined with the historical examination of language had directed a great deal of attention towards word meanings and etymologies. Such a trend is obvious in the works of Valla, Bruni and Pius II. The latter was not very optimistic about the future of this science when he concludes, 'sed est omnis de nomine vana quaestio'.¹

Margarit was enthusiastic in his application of the method. The age of fanciful inventions like Secus Cobia for Segovia,²

¹ *Historia Rerum Friderici Tertii*, ed. cit., p. 3. It follows a discussion on the etymology of *Vienna*. See also Bruni's remarks on the origin of *Milan*. *Epistolae* (Basle, 1535), p. 325.

² See the Toledano, *Rerum in Hispania gestarum Chronicon Libri novem*, i, 4, 7. Or again, 'Et quia bellis urgebat [Hercules] civitatem Urgellum aedificavit eisdem'. *Ibid.*, i, 5.

Ce Mora for Zamora and Toledo from the names of Tol and Ledo had fallen into disrepute.¹ Margarit followed the surer traditional lines that towns received their names from their founders or the names of rivers. He offered long lists of world-wide examples to justify this, and the further well-known principle that invading tribes name new settlements after topography in their own country. Thus, he declares, among other examples, Salamantica must have a Greek origin because Actici is a province near Athens.

He is more modern in his linguistic examination of place names. The popular etymology of Barchinona (Barcelona) was taken from a legend involving the ninth ship of a party of Greeks.² This would make it a first declension noun. But it is usually written in old histories as Barchino, which is a third declension noun of a Greek stem, thus confirming the foundation of the town by the Greeks but rejecting the legend as invalid. 'Hoc tamen fabulosum existimo, doctissimorum auctoritati assensiens.'³ He applies the same system to the noun Tarragona. This is usually written Tarraco. It is curious, he avers, that Scipio, a Roman and supposed founder of the settlement, should have given it an evidently Greek name. For this reason Isidore had always considered it a second declension noun. But this is inadmissible. Margarit, insisting on the Greek origin of the word, assumes that it was founded by Hercules, against the authority of Strabo and Pliny. He then searches for an appropriate etymology in the Aconiti, a Tyrian tribe which he assumes came with Hercules, and composes the place name Terra Acon.⁴

In all we perceive the vague possibilities of grammatical etymology as opposed to symbolical etymology. He advanced little farther than his contemporaries in this respect, but as in other fields he applied a greater critical consciousness. As

¹ Thomich, *Historias e conquistas dels Excellentissims e Catholics Reys d'Arago*, chap. 7 (written 1448). Segovia was also named after two knights, Segorbiu and Cobia, while Leyda means 'cap de leys'.

² Toledano, *op. cit.*, i, 4. 'Hercules ex novem navibus sui pedissequis caeteris ad Galleciam applicatis, nona ad littus applicuit Celtiberiae, ubi civitatem aedificavit, quam ex nona barcha Barchinonam appellavit.'

³ *Paralipomenon*, f. 22v.

⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 31v.

Cirot says, after Isidore, there was no more serious etymologist than John of Gerona.

IX

Apart from the differences of construction, the atmosphere of Margarit's chronicle is distinct from that of his contemporaries. Although he concentrates on Spanish antiquity on the same lines as the Italian historiographers, he by no means forces the issue to such conclusions as Ruy Sánchez de Arévalo and Fabricio de Vagad. The Castilian and the Aragonese were moved by more particularly peninsular and provincial motives than the Catalan, who, despite the glorification of *Hispania*, still admired and revered the glories of Roman history and their Italian commemorators.

Despite this breadth of outlook, the *Paralipomenon* was to have a singularly unfortunate posterity. It is not possible to estimate, except by the merest inference, his effect on his near contemporaries. Sánchez Alonso declares that Miguel Carbonell followed the school or the text of Margarit.¹ It is true that at some time Carbonell possessed the MS. of the *Paralipomenon* now in Madrid, but there are no direct indications that he used it as a source for his history. He ascribes all his classical knowledge to his cousin Geroni Pau, the hellenist. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that they were both related to Margarit.

In the generation that stretches between Margarit and Geroni Pau, we can mark the gradual changes that had been taking place in the attitude towards classical antiquity. Margarit was still hindered by a medieval heritage, Carbonell was the pretentious bourgeois avid of all that smacked of culture, Geroni Pau was the refined and sensitive scholar whose *De Fluminibus et Montibus Hispaniae* interpreted the poetic content of classical mythology. This eminent Latin and Greek scholar, librarian of Alexander VI, had immersed himself even more than Margarit in the atmosphere of the Renaissance.

¹ *Op. cit.*, i, 387. In particular, Carbonell shared Margarit's distrust of the Toledano. '... no havent cognicio de bons auctors ... facilment podia errar'. *Chroniques d'Espanya* (Barcelona, 1547), chap. 2.

X

We have said that the *Paralipomenon* was conceived to achieve for Spain an equal renown to that claimed for Italy by the humanists through their resuscitation of classical history. This renown was to be established in the same way, through the evidence of the great historians of Greece and Rome. The humanist and the patriotic impulse are closely knit together in the preface to his work, where Margarit dedicates it to Ferdinand and Isabel. It was one of the last parts of the *Paralipomenon* to be composed and therefore constitutes a valediction to the monarch he had known and revered since childhood. Here he refers to the Union of Castile and Aragon under the classical terms of Hispania Citerior and Ulterior.¹ He recalls the lost unity of Hispania since the days of the Arabic invasion. But whereas the Toledano in his history had held up the Goths as the great rulers of unified Spain Margarit throws into relief throughout the *Paralipomenon* the previous unity achieved by the Romans. As he had reviewed historically the union of all Spain as a slow domination of the recalcitrant natives under the strong arm of Scipio, Caesar and Augustus,² so he had lived through in person the years that led to the diarchy of Castile and Aragon.

Whether the reverence for antiquity provoked this deeper feeling for one's country or vice-versa is immaterial. At all events Margarit was led to a deeper study of historical sources of classical antiquity than had previously been accomplished in the peninsula, to which end he rejected the aid of the works of the Toledano and his imitators. Starting afresh, he was the first to give in some detail, a consecutive picture of Spain under the Greeks, Carthaginians and Romans by cautious interpretation of myth and a lucid choice of later reliable sources. He was the first to try and identify systematically, although in a minor

¹ *Paralipomenon*, f. 1^r. 'Qui [Ferdinand and Isabel] succedentes paternis et avitis regnis, ipsa coniugali copula, utriusque citerioris et ulterioris unionem fecistis.'

² Burdach, *op. cit.*, p. 116. 'L'imperatore Costantino, e dietro a lui, salendo portente, Augusto, sono le figure che ora s'affacciano più vive, alle quali viene consacrato un culto poggiato su un più ricco sapere storico, su un accresciuto studio degli storici e dei poeti antichi.'

way, the ancient settlements with their modern counterparts, using in addition navigation charts for measurements and visiting the original sites where possible.

This conception of history, coupled with his education and long sojourns in Italy, can only lead to one conclusion, that Margarit had responded more sensitively than any of his contemporaries to the influences of Italian humanism and as a result, had made the first advance in Renaissance historiography in the Peninsula. But like many other Italianate influences, it was too premature to take immediate root in his native soil. One had to wait for the first great wave of humanists to come from Italy, like Peter Martyr or Marineus Siculus,¹ or for the teachings of Nebrissa to spread from Salamanca. Margarit's pious wish that he might pass a noteworthy contribution to posterity may have failed, but he has now the satisfaction of knowing that he was one of the pioneers to set a course in the direction that future history was to follow.

¹ See Croce, *The History of Historiography* (Eng. trans., London, 1921), p. 228.

THE RABBINIC APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT¹

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THE purpose of this study is to examine afresh and to attempt further to clarify, as well as to assess, the Rabbinic approach to the study of the Old Testament. The interest here is directed towards Rabbinic judgments on and interpretations of Biblical texts, in so far as they reflect a special mental approach. The scope of this study, then, is restricted to the consideration of this central theme and we are thereby relieved of the baneful prospect of becoming involved in a maze of Rabbinic source materials. Selected characteristic passages will be cited from Rabbinic writings which deal specifically with Biblical texts or which have a bearing on their study, to determine the nature of this approach. In the course of this enquiry it will become evident that, though the evolution of Rabbinic interpretation is marked by progressive modifications, accretions and the shifting of emphasis, there is, nevertheless, an underlying attitude of mind common to both early and later Rabbinic commentators: the approach remained basically constant. One may, therefore, feel justified, in this connexion, in using the term 'Rabbinic' to include both Talmudic and medieval Jewish exegetical literature. Having indicated, by inferences from the passages cited, the nature and significance of the Rabbinic approach to the study of the Old Testament, we shall proceed to examine another major problem which will emerge.

¹ This essay was read as a paper to the Society for Old Testament Study at its winter meeting in London on 4th January, 1951. Though the writer hopes, at some future date, to present a comprehensive study of this subject, it is offered here in the outline form in which it was read, in the hope that it will serve some useful purpose in the meantime, particularly to those who are not familiar with Rabbinic literature. I am indebted to M. Jastrow's "Dictionary of the Targumin, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi and the Midrashic Literature" for some of the translations of quoted passages.

We shall have to consider whether this approach sprang from a general Rabbinic outlook dictated by the needs of the times but unconnected with any pre-Rabbinic antecedents, or whether it is but a continuation and development of an attitude which may be detected as lurking behind the later Old Testament compositions, especially where the hand of a reviser, redactor or glossator left its traces.

The Rabbinic literature which deals with the text of the Old Testament and which is relevant to our study consists mainly of the following : notes and comments scattered throughout the Talmudim, the Midrashim, the Aramaic Targumim and the medieval Jewish exegetical works. It will be convenient, for our purposes, to treat the Talmudim, Midrashim and Targumim as one corpus of Rabbinic data and the medieval Jewish commentaries as another. The reason for this two-fold division of literary sources will become apparent from the ensuing brief notes. An identity of purpose and, often, of content in the Talmudic, Midrashic and Targumic interpretation of texts warrants their being regarded as a unity for the purposes of this study.

In the pages of the Talmud there are copious notes and commentaries on Old Testament words, lines and passages, dealing with points of grammar, meanings of words, the integration of words or lines into their contexts, the inter-relationship of passages deemed to be associated in purpose or data and extravagant extensions in the scope of application. The origins of Rabbinic ordinances, whether of a purely religious character or of social import, are frequently derived artificially from Biblical texts by the application of accepted rules of דרש 'Derash' that is, of exposition or interpretation.¹ Often, by the same rules, or by reference to tradition or to earlier Rabbinic authority, folk-lore and legend are associated with Biblical texts, especially when the subjects treated are Biblical personalities or incidents. The practice of making use of Biblical texts to furnish Scriptural origins and authority for Rabbinic teachings was in no way regarded as being in conflict with a reasoned understanding of

¹ Hillel enunciated seven rules, R. Ishmael thirteen, and R. Akiba produced more elaborate deductive indications.

the text. On the contrary, the results ensuing from this system of textual study were considered as extensions of the obvious meaning of the text, thereby revealing a wealth of knowledge which was believed to be inherent in the Old Testament. Though, in the later periods of the Babylonian Amoraim, a tendency towards a more balanced treatment of Biblical texts becomes discernible, the licence to interpret texts freely, by a special process of inference, was not abandoned. It survived and flourished alongside the restricted sensible approach.

With regard to the treatment of texts in the Midrashim, since a great deal of Aggadic material is to be found in the Talmudim, there would be no advantage in devoting separate attention to Midrashic literature here. The Talmudim provide an ample stock of relevant Midrashic data from which we can draw characteristic examples to illustrate the special type of treatment of texts which produced associations with Aggadic lore.

Likewise, it would be superfluous, for our purposes, to discuss the Targumim in any great detail. Once they had assumed written and fixed forms, they became the authoritative Aramaic versions of the Old Testament and thus conveyed established Rabbinic views and interpretations. Though Onkelos generally adheres to the plain translation of the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch and only occasionally resorts to paraphrase, the later Targumim often go beyond the limits of translation and even of paraphrase. Sometimes they endow the text with a prophetic content it does not possess while, at other times, they interpret it in the light of laws and customs of the Talmudic age, thereby imputing to them Scriptural antiquity and precedence. Targumic source materials are, in fact, largely drawn from the Talmud and Midrash, so that a separate treatment of their translations, paraphrases and extensions would not throw any fresh light on the subject of this enquiry.

Turning, now, to the work of the medieval Jewish exegetes, it will be more profitable to deal with their commentaries in a more detailed examination, before developing our study of Talmudic interpretation. In this way, not only will the indebtedness of medieval Jewish commentators to earlier Rabbinic sources become evident but, what is more to our purpose,

an identification of their basic approach to the study of the Old Testament with that of their predecessors will be established.

Medieval Jewish exegesis began with Saadya Gaon (tenth century), whose writings are characterised by the application of an orderly mind. Saadya championed the cause of traditional Judaism which was being assailed by the sect of the Karaites. The Karaites, in rejecting categorically the authority of the Talmud in matters of Jewish belief and practice, turned to the Scriptures for sole guidance. There consequently developed the need for an interpretation of the sacred writings in the light of a fuller knowledge of Hebrew and a reasoned study of the text. Saadya, in meeting this challenge and threat to Rabbinic Judaism, chose as his weapons those used by his antagonists. He realised that the defence of traditional Judaism could be achieved only by the new methods of study adopted by the Karaites and the spirit of his commentaries concedes the need for more direct and plain interpretation. The path indicated by Saadya was followed by later exegetes of outstanding ability and students of the Old Testament have, for centuries, been indebted to the works of Rashi, Ibn Ezra, David Qimḥi and others. The need for Biblical commentaries, in keeping with the advancing knowledge and standards, as a defence or justification of Rabbinic Judaism, manifested itself also in the centuries following Saadya's age. Qimḥi, for example, frequently displays balanced judgment, not only by positive contributions, but also by dismissing irrelevant interpretations, usually with the phrase *וזהו רחוק* 'but this is far (-fetched)'.¹

Furthermore, he betrays an awareness of and sensitivity towards Christian interpretations of Old Testament passages and his observations, on occasion, indicate that he felt it essential, not only to present the Jewish interpretation, but also to demolish the Christian view. This attempt to satisfy the needs of his age is clearly exemplified by his polemic against the fundamental concepts of Christian theology, in his notes on Psalm 2, verse 12b. He refers back to verse 7, to the line *בְּנִי אַתָּה אֲנִי הַיּוֹם יִלְדֶּתִיךָ*

'Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee' (upon which he had already commented in his notes on that verse) and, after

stating that Christian basic dogmas were based on this line, proceeds to invalidate them. A similar motive must have activated his mind, when he wrote a trite note on the meaning of the word הַעֲלָמָה in Isaiah 7, verse 14. הַעֲלָמָה אֵינָהּ בְּתוּלָה The word הַעֲלָמָה does not mean ' virgin ', is his solitary comment.

That Ibn Ezra and Qimḥi drew upon earlier existing commentaries, apart from Talmudic traditions, is attested by statements made by them in the Introductions to their works. In the Introduction to his commentary on the Book of Job, Ibn Ezra states :

כִּי רוב פִּירוּשֵׁי הַקְדְּמוֹנִים בַּסֵּפֶר הַזֶּה אֵינָם עַל דְּקֻדָּק הַלְשׁוֹן
וְיֵשׁ מֵהֶם עַל דֶּרֶךְ הַדְרָשׁ

' Most of the commentaries of the earlier (writers) on *this Book* are not concerned with the grammar of the language and some of them are after the manner of *Derash* (i.e. fanciful exposition) '. Qimḥi's statement, in his Introduction to his commentary on Chronicles, is more pointed. He declares :

מֵצֵאתִי הִנֵּה בְנֵרְבוֹנָה פִּירוּשִׁים בֹּזֵה הַסֵּפֶר וְלֹא יָדַעְתִּי שְׁמוֹת
מַחְבְּרֵיהֶם כִּי הוֹלְכִים דֶּרֶךְ הַדְרָשׁ רַבּוּ

' I found here, in Narbonne, commentaries on *this Book*, but I do not know the names of their authors, and they mostly follow the path of *Derash*.' Both Ibn Ezra and Qimḥi, then, appear to have regarded the exclusively Midrashic type of commentary, extant in their days, as being no longer adequate or satisfactory. They therefore shifted the weight of emphasis on to פֶּשֶׁט '*Peshat*', which is generally taken to imply ' plain meaning '. This policy does not suggest the abandonment of the results achieved by traditional orthodox interpretation, upon which *Derash* exerted so potent an influence. The novelty of their work lies in their selection from earlier materials, the rationalisation of such selected interpretations and the contribution of new ideas which they personally held. Qimḥi makes this point clear in the Introduction to his commentary on the Prophetic Books. He states that he undertook the task of writing a commentary

כֹּאשֶׁר לַמִּדְתִּי וְקִבְלֹתִי וְכֹאשֶׁר תִּשְׂגֶּי יָד מַחֲשַׁבְתִּי בְּאִשֶּׁר ה' אֵתִי

‘according to that which I have learned and received, and as the power of my thought may attain, the Lord being with me’.

A study of the commentaries of Ibn Ezra, Qimḥi and Rashi reveals that, though they made notable contributions in the sphere of rational interpretation, they were, nevertheless, largely dependent upon sources of Talmudic, Midrashic literature for the constructions placed on texts. On the one hand, they attempt to determine the meaning of a difficult word in a text by the sensible method of quoting passages containing the word concerned, the meaning of which is indicated by the context, or by reference to the Targum rendering. On the other hand, not infrequently do they cite a Midrashic interpretation, upon which judgment of approval may be expressed or tacitly implied though, at times, the *peshat* is recommended and the *derash* rejected. Furthermore, one is led to the conclusion that, for them, the scope of *peshat* treatment of a text is not necessarily restricted to a reasoned or objective study, but may be extended into a pattern in which a *derash* interpretation is rationalised and upheld by rules of *peshat*. An interesting example which admirably illustrates how *peshat* methods are used to establish a *derash* treatment is afforded by Qimḥi's note on the first verse of Chapter I in I Samuel. The Hebrew text reads :

וַיְהִי אִישׁ אֶחָד מִן הָרִמָּתִים צוֹפִים

which, taken as it stands, means ‘Now, there was a certain man from Ramathaim Zophim’.¹ The Targum rendering is

וַיְהִי גִבְרָא חָד מִרְמָתַא מְתַלְמִידֵי נְבִיאָא

‘there was a certain man from Rama, of the disciples of the prophets’. Rashi simply quotes the Targum without any comment and thus implicitly accepts its interpretation, but Qimḥi, goes much further by remarking :

מִן שׁוֹכֵר עוֹמֵד בְּמָקוֹם שְׁנַיִם כְּאִילוֹ אָמַר מִן צוֹפִים כְּלוֹמַר
מִמְשַׁפַּחַת צוֹפִים וַיֵּשׁ לִפְרֵשׁ צוֹפִים נְבִיאִים וְכֵן תַּרְגֻּמָּהּ יוֹנָתָן
וְזוֹהוּ פִּירוּשׁ נָכוֹן

‘The word מִן “of” serves doubly, as if (the verse) read “of

¹ On the basis of the LXX Σουφί, צוֹפִים is emended by textual critics to צִיפִי ‘a Zuphite’ and the terminal מ is regarded as a case of dittography.

Zophim " And it is (possible) to interpret the word צופים as " prophets ", and thus did Jonathan render it—and this is a proper interpretation '. Qimḥi proceeds to explain that the root-meaning is ' seer ' or ' prophet '. The Targum rendering is based on a statement in Megilla 14a,¹ as a comment on this text,

אחד ממאתים צופים שהתנבאו להם לישראל

' he was one of the two hundred seers who prophesied to Israel '. Our example illustrates Qimḥi's acceptance of a Midrashic interpretation which had come down from Talmudic literature and which was embodied in the Targum rendering. He attempts to uphold its validity and thus justify its acceptance as the correct sense of the line by producing arguments associated with *peshat* methods. If, then, the scope of *peshat* treatment was extended to include Aggadic materials, one wonders whether the definition of the term *peshat* is covered adequately by ' plain interpretation '.

The medieval exegetes, then, selected from early Rabbinic literature such materials as they thought would be acceptable to the minds of their age, wove them into a pattern in which the prominent features seemed to be in consonance with the requirements of *peshat* and thereby endeavoured to uphold the merit of the Talmudic tradition. Even when they put forward fresh views of their own, they did not claim that they were breaking new ground. On the contrary, their orthodoxy demanded that their rôle should be that of legitimate successors to the Talmudic tradition and their work a confirmation and extension of it. Not only was this tradition faithfully followed by means of direct borrowings, but was strengthened and developed through skilful modifications, fresh contributions for the purpose of elucidation and by the shifting of the weight of emphasis from the *derash* to the *peshat*. While medieval Jewish exegesis marks a notable advance in the history of Old Testament studies, it was, nevertheless, constructed on the foundations of the Talmudic tradition of interpretation. The

¹ All the Talmudic references in this paper are taken from the Babylonian Talmud, which provides a sufficient number of statements to cover all the points dealt with in this outline.

common basic substratum, not only of data, but also of purpose, establishes the validity of the use of the term 'Rabbinic' approach as embracing both the Talmudic and the Jewish medieval treatment of Old Testament texts.

Before turning to passages from Talmudic literature which deal with the Old Testament, it may be said that the clue to a correct understanding of the nature of the Rabbinic approach lies in the recognition of the fact that, like the Old Testament itself, Rabbinic writings are primarily of a religious character and the materials used are meant to serve religious ends. To assess Rabbinic literature in terms of twentieth century western standards is to misunderstand the spirit of its authors and of the age to which it was directed. Some students of Talmudic modes of interpretation have repudiated them as being utterly devoid of any content of reality and consequently of no serious value for an understanding of the text of the Old Testament. On the other hand, Talmudic exegesis, in its varied forms, has found champions who postulate (a) the existence of a mass of extra-Biblical oral material and (b) the preservation of these oral traditions in the Talmud. Thus they try to infuse into Talmudic interpretations the substance of factual reality. One is reminded forcibly of a parallel controversy which raged at the end of the nineteenth century and which, indeed, has not altogether subsided, between the schools of the so-called Rationalists and Fundamentalists on such questions as the scientific accuracy of the Genesis account of Creation, the Flood story and a host of other Old Testament accounts. We have learned that to reject them as absurd in the light of modern scientific knowledge is as futile a judgment of Old Testament writings as to attempt to establish their consistency with scientific facts. We now realise that those who wrote the Old Testament in the form in which we have it were not primarily concerned with questions of factual accuracy or even of consistency. We have, in the Old Testament literature, a collection of religious writings, the authors of which drew from the existing raw materials of history, law, folk-lore and current ideas, as vehicles for the transmission of religious teachings. A great deal of reliable historical facts and of valuable human experiences has, indeed, been presented,

but there is much which is outside the realm of verifiable facts and much which was deliberately, and often mistakenly, modified and adapted to suit their religious purposes. In like manner, it may be said, Rabbinic writings on the text of the Old Testament, being primarily religious in character and purpose, bear parallel with the very subject of their studies. While many of their observations are sound and scholars continue to sift Rabbinic literature to discover what is of value for present-day studies, the overriding religious purpose led to the production of a vast amount of material which is outside the sphere of accurate knowledge or even of probability. When viewed in this light, Rabbinic writings can be appreciated as a reflection of the minds of their authors. Though, at times, we may detect offences against the elementary canons of our Western rational approach, we must apply to them their own standards of textual study, if we are to understand their approach.

In proceeding, now, to examine the treatment of the text of the Old Testament by the Talmudic Rabbis, it must be made clear that our main interest is not the result of such treatment, as evidenced by the mass of material produced, but rather the attitude of mind and the purpose which led to their viewing the Old Testament in a special way. Reference to such results must inevitably be made, but they will be quoted with the view to ascertaining the approach to the study of the Old Testament inherent in them.

Let us consider, firstly, the attitude adopted by the Talmudic Rabbis towards the problem of establishing the authoritative text of the Old Testament. The process of fixing the text is generally held to have taken place at the end of the first and during the second centuries of the common era. Where they were confronted with variant manuscript readings, they applied the principle of majority readings to enable them to reach a decision on the reading to be officially adopted. Modern students have pointed out the weakness inherent in this method, for it does not rule out the probability that some majority readings may have been derived from the one faulty parent copy. Yet, the adoption of this principle, with all its defects, was consistent with their purpose. Their concern was primarily of a religious character.

The main issue, for them, was the establishment of the official, and therefore inspired, text of the Old Testament and they were, consequently, compelled to employ a rule which would exclude speculation and conflicting weighty traditions. That a text fixed by this rule might preserve erroneous readings was recognised by them and official corrections were produced to remedy such defects.¹ Yet their purpose was accomplished and the text rendered inviolable. If the pattern of Talmudic disputation and division into opposing schools of Halakhic rulings had been allowed to be extended to questions of textual discrepancies in sacred manuscripts, rigid and conflicting schools of Scriptural readings might have ensued, authoritative decisions would have become difficult to reach and their aim of finality thwarted. The significance of this possibility becomes all the more apparent when we bear in mind the fact that their main concern was not an objective study of the text, but the attainment of an authoritative and immutable text, for it was upon the interpretation of this text that the main structure of Rabbinic Judaism rested. Even when the Temple of Jerusalem had long been destroyed and the people scattered far and wide, there always burned in their hearts the fervent belief that Israel would ultimately regain its lost freedom in its own land and that such laws as were applicable only to the land of Israel and to the Temple would again be restored to the spheres of practical operation. It was, therefore, of paramount importance that the wording of the text be fixed, beyond any possibility of doubt or change.

Once the text was finally established, it followed that adequate safeguards had to be devised against the possible intrusion of any subsequent scribal errors. The Rabbis were well aware of the kind of errors to which copyists were prone and some of these are indicated, by way of admonition, in Sabbath 103b. The word וְכָתַבְתֶּם 'and thou shalt write them', in Deuteronomy vi, 9, is commented upon in Midrashic fashion, thus: שְׁתֵּהָא כְּתִיבָה תָּמָא 'that it should be perfect writing'.² This is followed

¹ This phenomenon is dealt with below.

² By splitting the word וְכָתַבְתֶּם into the words, כְּתַב תָּם.

by warnings against likely confusions between 'Aleph and 'Ayin,¹ Kaph and Heth, Šade and 'Ayin, Daleth and Res, He and Heth, Waw, Nun and Zain, Yodh and Waw, Ṭeth and Pe'. Other possible errors in copying are mentioned, as for example, in the late Massekheth Sopherim V, 2, the possible confusion between the words יהוה and יהודה, thus illustrating their awareness of possible faulty copying due to the eye and the ear. In the late Tractate *Sopherim* specific directions are given to copyists to prevent any faulty transcription of the sacred text. That provision was made for the detection and elimination of any defects in sacred texts is attested by Kethuboth 106a, which reveals that מגידי ספרים שבירושלים נוטלין שכרן מתרומת הלשכה 'the official revisers of sacred manuscripts in Jerusalem received their fees from Temple funds'. Furthermore, in Kethuboth 19b the ruling is given that not more than thirty days may elapse between the discovery of a fault in a sacred book and its elimination. Finally, as an example of their anxiety to ensure that faultless copies were in the hands of their readers, we may quote that advice given by R. Akiba to R. Simeon ben Yoḥai, recorded in Pesachim 112a in these words : כשאתה מלמד את בנך למדהו : 'בספר מוגה' 'When you teach your son, teach him from a revised (i.e. accurate) text'.

In connexion with the Rabbinic treatment of the established text, the phenomenon of directed oral emendation is highly significant. We are not concerned, at the moment, with the deliberate alterations made in the text, either in the written word and known as תקוני סופרים 'Scribal emendations' or orally, as listed in Megilla 25b, for the purpose of removing offensive or indelicate words or expressions. Such alterations are not in the order of textual *corrections* : they rather postulate a recognition of the correctness of the original words which, for reasons of delicacy or religious scruple, warranted the substitution of more acceptable words. We are also not concerned here with the Midrashic system of playfully introducing alternative readings with the formula ...אלא...אל תקרא 'Do not read (the word as it stands) but (a similar one suggested)'. Far from

¹ The direction is given in the form

etc. שלא יכתוב אלפין עיינין אלפין ביתין כפין כפין ביתין

implying that the word thus manipulated is faulty, the device is meant to serve purely Midrashic purposes¹ which, as pointed out earlier, in no way invalidates or supersedes the ordinary sense of the word but is merely one of the ways in which homiletic or folkloristic teachings are associated with a text. We are concerned here with such oral emendations as were applied, in practice, to the reading and plain understanding of the text. These fall under the categories of **כתיב וקרי** in which the reading is altered, **כתיב ולא קרי** in which the word is to be omitted and **קרי ולא כתיב** in which a word is to be inserted. A statistic of such oral corrections of Rabbinic authority affords many examples of the main types of copyists' errors found in the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. These Rabbinic instructions for the internal changes of readings in written words, the elimination of a redundant letter or word in a line or the re-introduction of a letter or word missing from the text, illustrate the following main categories of scribal error: (i) confusion of similar letters within the one word, (ii) displacement or transposition of letters within the one word, (iii) haplography of letters or words, (iv) dittography of letters or words and (v) the wrong division of letters into words.² In some cases, the errors brought to light by Rabbinic oral correction are not those of the eye, but

¹ Rarely does such a homiletic change produce a superior reading. One of the rare examples is given in Moed Qatan 9b, with reference to Psalm xlix, 12, where the line **קִרְבָּם בְּתִימוֹ לְעוֹלָם** occurs. The English Authorised version paraphrases it thus: 'Their inward (thought?) is (that) their habitations (shall be) for ever'. The Talmudic note on this line is **אל תקרא קרבם אלא קברם** 'Read not "their inward" but "their grave"'. This, strangely, agrees with the Targum **בֵּית קְבוּרָתְהוֹן** and the LXX **ταφου** and is generally accepted by scholars as the original reading.

² Examples are (i) II Kings xvi, 6 K. **אֲרָמִים** 'Arameans', Q. **אֲדוּמִים** 'Edomites' (confusion of **ד** and **ר**), Proverbs xxi, 30 K. **יָבִין** 'doth establish', Q. **יָבִין** 'doth consider' (confusion of **ב** and **כ**), (ii) II Samuel xx, 14 K. **וּיִקְלְהוּ**, Q. **וּיִקְהִלוּ** 'and they assembled', (iii) Judges xx, 13, **בְּנֵי** to be inserted before **בְּנִימִן**—the letters **בני** having been written once instead of twice. (iv) Jeremiah li, 3, **יִדְרוּךְ** written twice instead of once. (v) I Samuel ix, 1 K. **מִבְּנִימִן**, Q. **מִבְּנִימִן** and conversely, K. **בִּגְד**, Q. **בָּא גֶד** in Genesis xxx, 11.

can be accounted for by a faulty understanding of the context.¹ These oral emendations, later collected by the Massoretes, are to be found in the Talmud. Corrections of faulty words are generally introduced by the formula וקרינן כתיב... 'it is written (thus), but we read it (otherwise)', while the omissions and intrusions are listed in Nedarim 37b. under the heading :

הלן כתבן ולא קריין וקריין ולא כתבן

'These are (the words which, though) written (in the text,) are not to be read and (those which) are to be read, (though) not written'.

The question which now presents itself to us is this : 'Were these oral corrections, as directed by the Rabbis, the result of a scientific study of the text, at a time subsequent to the fixing of the official text'? The answer would appear to be in the negative, for the following reasons. Had the Rabbis applied themselves to a critical study of the text, they would surely have noted many more scribal errors which are at least as obvious as those to which they drew attention. They had only to compare the discrepancies in parallel or duplicated passages to realise that corruption had set in at least one, if not both, of the parallel texts. Though they noted such discrepancies, they made no attempt to resolve them textually, but resorted to Midrashic treatment, as we shall later indicate. The fact that the quantity of official oral corrections is limited, in relation to the amount of discernible errors and that, in some cases, the corrections were unnecessary or unwarranted,² points to the operation of tradition. It would seem that, where the traditional reading was different from and often superior to that established by the principle of majority readings, the traditional reading was adopted, but only orally. The written text was to remain unchanged and unchangeable and only the powerful impetus of a well-established tradition could justify the adoption of an oral substitution for the written word. The truth of this conclusion seems to be

¹ An example is I Samuel xvii, 7 K. חץ 'arrow', Q. עץ 'wooden part of his spear'.

² As in Isaiah xlv, 24, where K. מי איתי 'who is with me' is better than the Q. מאיתי 'from (being with) me'.

suggested by the statement in the above Talmudic reference, Nedarim 37b, that all oral omissions and insertions in texts, as directed by the Rabbis are *הלכה למשה מסיני*, that is, with the authority of tradition. Where, however, there was no tradition of a variant reading to give warrant to an oral correction, Midrashic interpretation was often resorted to, as the only means of resolving the difficulty.

An interesting example of an attempt to establish some relationship between a Kethibh and its Qere is given in Sanhedrin 20a, where, incidentally, reference is made to a Kethibh which seems to have disappeared from the Massoretic text. The passage discussed is II Samuel iii, 35 *וַיָּבֹא כָל-הָעָם לְהַבְרֹת אֶת-דָּוִד לֶחֶם* 'And all the people came to make David eat bread'. The incident described is the popular sympathy felt towards David, following his exoneration of complicity in the murder of Abner. The Talmud quotes Rava as expounding the verse as follows:

כתיב להכרות וקרינן להברות בתחילה להכרותו ולבסוף
להברותו

'it is written להכרות ('to cut off'), but we read להברות ('to offer food'). (This implies that) at first (they intended) to destroy him, but in the end they made him partake of food'. Two points of interest emerge from this exposition. Firstly, it is possible that some original Kethibim had been ousted from the text by the adopted Qeriim. Qimḥi remarks, on this vanished Kethibh that, though earlier commentators had knowledge of its existence, he personally had never seen it in any accurate copies of the Book of Samuel, nor was it listed in the Massora. The second point is that the Rabbis felt it incumbent upon them to account for the presence of a Kethibh in the text. Though, in practice, it was replaced orally by a Qere, the fact of its occurrence in the text could not openly be accounted for in terms of a copyist's error. It was, therefore, endowed with a significance which only Midrashic treatment could reveal. There was some definite relationship between the Kethibh and the Qere, whereby the latter completed what was left unfinished by the former. Thus the Kethibh was not to be regarded as a

redundant element in the text, for it has its place in the extended interpretation of the text, alongside the plain sense of the Qere. In like manner is the Kethibh **הָעִיר** ('the city') made to explain and amplify the Qere **הַצֵּר** ('courtyard') in II Kings, xx 4, namely, "that the royal courtyards were like townships". This note is recorded in Erubin 26a.

A similar solution is often offered in cases where a statement in a Biblical verse is contracted by that of another associated text or, sometimes, within the same verse. In Erubin 18a attention is drawn to such a situation in Genesis i, 27 (and possibly also in Genesis v, 2) in these words :

כְּתִיב זָכַר וְנִקְבָּה בְּרָאם וְכָתִיב בְּצֶלֶם אֱלֹהִים בְּרָא אֹתוֹ
בְּתַחֲלִיל עָלָה בְּמַחֲשַׁבָּה לְבָרוֹת שְׁנַיִם וּלְבִסּוֹף לֹא נִבְרָא
אֶלָּא אֶחָד

It is written : 'male and female He created *them*', and it is written : 'in the image of God He created *Him* ! At first the intention was to create two (people), but in the end only one was created.' The fact that the interest of the Rabbis in the study of the Old Testament was primarily religious did not exempt them from the necessity of attempting to resolve obvious discrepancies in the same verse or in associated texts. On the contrary, their adherence to their absolute faith in the divine inspiration of the established text inevitably led them to a realisation of the need to explain contradictions, discrepancies and variants in both readings and in facts. By ingenious Midrashic devices they so interpreted the conflicting texts as to eliminate the difficulty and point to an underlying hidden unity between them. The discrepancies, then, were only on the surface for, on delving deeper, one ultimately discovered that they were really complementary parts, not only of an idea or incident, but even, sometimes, of a composite word. An example of the latter is given in Taanith 10a, where attention is drawn to the phrase **תְּשֻׁרַת מַיִם** 'gathering of waters' in II Samuel xxii, 12 and to the variant reading **הַשְּׁכֶת מַיִם** 'darkness of waters' in the parallel text of Psalm xviii, 12. R. Johanan would read for both the composite word **תְּשֻׁרַת מַיִם** 'making (the waters) fit' i.e. 'sweet' by the clouds of the skies. Since the absence of a

tradition precluded the possibility of preferring one reading over the other and the presence of a scribal error could not be admitted as existing in a Qere-less text, some means of reconciling variant readings had to be devised. Even though the Midrashic exposition may not have been regarded as having any serious content, it nevertheless tended to ease the difficulty, since Midrashic interpretation was looked upon as a legitimate extension of the plain sense of the text. Bearing in mind, furthermore, that religious and not purely scholastic ends were to be served, the acceptance of such Midrashic solutions can be understood.

We shall have to consider the Rabbinic methods of deriving ordinances and folk-lore from Biblical texts or of associating their teachings with them. It will be more convenient, however, first to examine a Rabbinic attitude towards the study of the Old Testament which gradually became crystallised in the later Babylonian period. One comes across, in scattered Talmudic passages, axioms of Biblical study which may be regarded as canons of legitimate interpretation, revealing a standard of approach which merits serious attention. It is true that the principles of *Derash* were, even in this late period, still in operation and were never rejected as invalid means of securing extended interpretations. Yet, the emergence of sound rules for the study of the Old Testament, though in scattered and unorganised fashion, indicates a growing awareness of the need for a rational approach. There appears, furthermore, to have developed a gradual realisation of the danger that, if unchecked, *Derash* interpretation might displace a reasonable understanding of the text. The enunciation of stable rules of guidance for the study of Scriptures may be regarded as designed to serve as a healthy deterrent against over-indulgence in the luxury of *Derash* interpretation.

The first basic idea which commends itself to our notice is framed in the axiom *דברה תורה כלשון בני אדם* that is, 'Scripture employs human (i.e. plain) language'. It is quoted in *Berakhot* 31b in connexion with the use of the Infinitive Absolute with the Finite Verb and in *Nedarim* 3a to explain the presence of a noun which is cognate to the verb governing it,

and similarly in other instances in the Talmud. In some cases the discussion following upon the statement of this axiom shows that it did not gain universal acceptance. One concludes, therefore, that a section, at least, of Talmudic opinion approached the study of the Old Testament with the assumption that the text was written in a language intelligible to those for whom it was intended. This concept is, surely, fundamental to all study of the Hebrew Scriptures.

Something in the nature of a reminder that excessive Mid-rashic interpretation might obscure the true sense of a text is given in Sabbath 63a and elsewhere in the trite expression : 'אין מקרא יוצא מיד' פשוטו', i.e. even though its application might be extended by way of Derash. That the introduction of this principle caused some surprise seems to be indicated by the remark made by R. Kahana, recorded in the above-mentioned passage, in Sabbath 63a, that 'he had not known till then (of the principle) that a verse cannot lose its plain meaning'. It was, evidently, precisely this type of student to whom a salutary reminder was directed. Unless curbed, the tendency would have been to set no limit to the possibilities of Midrashic exposition and the basic, plain sense of the text might have become obliterated by the mass of Mid-rashic superstructure.

The recognition of a need for a direct and simple understanding of the Old Testament writings is expressed more pointedly by another principle, recorded in Sanhedrin 71a, and elsewhere, in the phrase 'בעינין קרא כדכתיב' 'we must (render) the verse as it is written'. The same Tractate, in 45b, mentions the fact that this principle, like the first one referred to earlier, did not receive general acceptance. One is, therefore, again led to the conclusion that, in the later periods of the Talmudic age, there was a growing nervousness, among certain Rabbis, about the over-indulgence in Derash, to the detriment of the plain sense of the text. It would be but natural that those who belonged to the earlier school would not readily accept these new axioms, but would cling to the older traditional methods, which gave them freedom in the treatment of texts and encouraged the production of a mass of highly coloured and attractive

folk-lore. The clash between these two schools is illustrated by a story in Sanhedrin 67a. R. Akiba, whose skill in Aggadic interpretation was unrivalled, commented, in Midrashic fashion, on the line in Exodus viii, 2 :

וַתֵּעַל הַצְפָּרְדֵּי וַתִּכֶּס אֶת-אֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם

‘ the frogs came up and covered the land of Egypt ’. Because the singular is used, obviously to indicate a collective or species, R. Akiba takes it to mean that ‘ there was only one frog which covered the whole land ’. To this R. Eliezer retorted, not without some sarcasm :

עֲקִיבָא מַה לָּךְ אֲצִל הַגָּדָה כֻּלָּה מִדְּבָרֶיךָ וְלָךְ אֲצִל נִגְעִים
וְאֵהָלוֹת

‘ Akiba, why do you (persist) in Aggada? Make an end of your pratings and betake yourself to (the problems of) plagues, and tents ’, i.e. to questions of Halakha. The fear that Aggadic interpretation might be mistaken for the plain sense of a text and that it might ultimately supplant it must have been real, for this phenomenon manifested itself even in much later times in the Talmudical colleges of Central and Eastern Europe.

The Rabbis appreciated the importance of correctly determining the reading of the consonantal text, since the oral vocalisation of words is indispensable for a proper understanding of the context. Sanhedrin 4a, and elsewhere, records the Rabbinic discussions on the question as to whether the consonantal text determines its own vocalisation or whether the traditional vocalisation is decisive. The רַבָּנָן—*Rabbanan*—, i.e. the larger section of Rabbinic opinion, favours the traditional vocalisation. This fact once again points to the power of established tradition as a major factor in deciding issues in which the prime concern is one of religious import. Since the Rabbinic study of the Old Testament had, as its first aim, the ascertaining of the Divine will, both explicitly expressed or by implication, through the revealed word, the establishment of the written word was imperative.

In Qiddushin 49b the question is asked ‘מַאי תוֹרָה’ ‘ what is Torah ’? and the answer is given ‘מִדְּרַשׁ תוֹרָה’ ‘ the interpretation of Torah ’. This implies that the teachings of

Scripture can be conveyed only by means of interpretation, and it was upon the foundations of authoritative interpretation that the structure of Rabbinic Judaism was erected. Talmudic interpretation is generally divided into two main categories: מדרש הלכה—'Midrash Halakha' and מדרש אגדה 'Midrash Aggada'. The former deals with legalistic matters, both religious and civil, while the latter is concerned with folk-lore and edifying homilies.

Turning now to the scene of Halakhic interpretation, we may quote, by way of illustration, the Rabbinic construction placed on the prescription of the *lex talionis* in Exodus, xxi, 23-25, as given in Sanhedrin 87b :

רבי אומר ונתת נפש תחת נפש ממון אתה אומר ממון או אינו
אלא נפש ממש נאמר נתינה למעלה ונאמר נתינה למטה מה
להלן ממון אף כאן ממון

“ ‘Rabbi says’ : (in the verse) “ and thou shalt give a life for a life ” money (compensation) is meant. Is it compensation or an actual life (which is meant)? The term נתינה “ giving ” is employed earlier (i.e. וְנָתַן בַּפְּלִיִּים “ and he shall give as the judges asses ”) and the term נתינה is used later (i.e. וְנָתַתָּ נֶפֶשׁ).

Since the former refers to money (compensation), the latter must also refer to money (compensation).’ The immediate reaction of a Biblical scholar to this example of Midrash Halakha would be that such a conclusion is unwarranted, in the light of the plain sense of the text. It is, of course, quite possible that the Rabbis genuinely believed that the idea of compensation was inherent in the choice of the word וְנָתַתָּ ‘and thou shalt give’. On the other hand, it may well be that they recognised the plain sense of the words, but were compelled so to interpret them as to make the direction given conform to the advanced legal practice of their day. The primitive law of talio may have had validity in the dim, distant past in ancient Israel ; it certainly had no place in Talmudic law, for the principle of monetary compensation seems to have been firmly entrenched. If the import of the text were to have been kept rigid by the adherence to the literal understanding and not to have been rendered flexible by means of Halakhic interpretation, the conflict between the

Biblical injunction and the enlightened practice would have placed the Rabbis in an inescapable dilemma. To those who will argue that such Rabbinic interpretation, designed to provide Scriptural authority for the legal practice of their times, may be appreciated as a necessity but that it does not alter the fact that they superimposed a meaning on to the text which it does not have, the following consideration may be of interest. It is likely that the Rabbis were but following a pattern of thought which modern literary critics of the Old Testament ascribe to the Deuteronomist and the Priestly writer of centuries earlier. The literary activity of the latter has been summed up admirably by Pfeiffer¹ in these words: 'The authors of P did not hesitate to re-write their sources, entirely removing from them whatever conflicted with their theories and adding what was needed to integrate their work'. The Priestly author used earlier source materials, worked them over and presented to his generation his adaptations and accretions in documentary form as being of authoritative Mosaic prescription. The Rabbis, however, faced with a fixed and immutable text, could achieve this end only by means of Midrashic interpretation. Yet, the purpose and the practical results achieved were the same, though their respective methods were determined by the means at hand.

An example of how a Rabbinic principle of law was associated with, if not artificially derived from, a Biblical text is furnished by Sanhedrin 27b, where Deuteronomy xxiv, 16 is treated in the following fashion. The Biblical Verse reads

לֹא יוֹמְתוּ אָבוֹת עַל בָּנִים וּבָנִים לֹא יוֹמְתוּ עַל אָבוֹת אִישׁ
בְּחֻטְאוֹ יוֹמֵת (ו)

'Fathers shall not be put to death for their children, nor shall children be put to death for their fathers. Each one shall be put to death for his own sin.' The Talmudic treatment of the verse is in the form of an argument. 'If it is to teach us that fathers should not be put to death for the iniquity of their sons and sons for the iniquity of their fathers, surely it is stated that each man shall die for his own sin'. The (preposition) *עַל* 'on

¹ 'Introduction to the Old Testament' by Robert Pfeiffer (Harper & Brothers), 4th edition, 1941. Pp. 206-207.

account of' implies בעדות 'on the testimony of'. The rejection of evidence of parents against their children and vice versa in trials involving the penalty of capital punishment is thus given Mosaic sanction. It is true that, from the objective standpoint, the preposition על is endowed with an extension of effect far beyond its scope of possible meanings. Yet, since the purpose of the Rabbis was to find Scriptural authority, directly or implicitly, for their own enactments or for legal practices handed down to them, the process of Midrash Halakha served them well. It produced the desired end and yet preserved the written text of Scripture intact.

That the Pentateuchal laws were but the core of a more elaborate system which was operative in the Monarchical period and later is clear, not only from the general consideration of an expanding society, but from references in the Old Testament itself. In Deuteronomy xvii, 8-11, specific directions are given with regard to the adoption of legal decisions not included in Pentateuchal legislation. Authority is vested in 'the priests, the levites and the judge who will be in those days'. The people are instructed to abide by the verdict of the judges, while disobedience to their authority is declared punishable by death. Now, the Deuteronomist is clearly describing the situation of his own day, but the Mosaic authority for the legal powers vested in appointed judges or authorities is established retrospectively by the text which he promulgated. II Chronicles xix, 5, confirms the existence and functioning of judges, for whose appointment King Jehoshaphat is given credit. Furthermore, the prohibition against carrying burdens on the Sabbath day, mentioned in Jeremiah xvii, 21—**וְאַל תִּשְׂאוּ מִשָּׂא בְיוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת**—implies the introduction of religious ordinances and prohibitions which are not mentioned in the Pentateuchal codes. It would be consistent with general historical principles to hold that a corpus of Jewish religious and civil law evolved, keeping pace with the evolution of society. Such laws would be transmitted to succeeding generations which would modify and supplement them, in accordance with the new needs which arose. Both the Biblical and Talmudic legalists were concerned with the establishment of Divine sanction or direction for their respective

codes and they found the means to serve this end, each in his own way. Whereas the Deuteronomist and the Priestly writer were able to produce documents purporting to be of Mosaic origin, the Talmudic Rabbis could only ascribe an extended or implied application of the text, hidden behind the plain sense of the words, to secure their purpose. It is possible, too, that under the provisions of Deuteronomy xvii, 8-11, the jurists of the Deuteronomist's and Chronicler's days may have sought, by means of inference and association, Scriptural support for their ordinances and legal decisions. Such a procedure is suggested by the gloss on Genesis xxxii, 33, where, after the reference to Jacob's injury following his struggle with the angel, it reads

עַל כֵּן לֹא יֹאכְלוּ בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת גִּיד הַנֶּשֶׂא

'therefore the sons of Israel eat not this membrane'. This appears to be a pattern of Midrashic deduction which was followed by the Talmudic schools and would suggest that the latter were heirs to a traditional mode of Scripture study stretching far back into antiquity.

An example of the identity of approach to the study of Biblical texts displayed by the Chronicler and the Talmudic Rabbis is seen in the manner of dealing with conflicting accounts. Reference was made earlier to the Rabbinic devices of resolving contradictions or discrepancies in parallel or associated texts by means of Midrashic interpretation. This problem, when presented to the mind of the Chronicler, was solved in a much more drastic fashion. He had before him two accounts of the slaying of the giant Goliath. In I Samuel xvii, David is the hero of story, whereas in II Samuel, xxi, 19, a certain Elhanan is named as the one who slew Goliath. In rewriting the latter text, in I Chronicles, xx, 5, the Chronicler simply altered it, so as to deprive Elhanan of the honour of slaying Goliath and declaring it was Goliath's brother whom this hero slew. Instead of reproducing the line

וַיַּךְ אֶלְחָנָן בֶּן יֵעָרִי אוֹרְגִים בֵּית הַלְחֶמִי אֶת־גִּלְיָת חֶמְתִּי

'Elhanan, the son of Yair Oregim,¹ the Beth-lehemite, smote

¹ The text is corrupt here ; these words being a distorted intrusion from the line below.

Goliath, the Hittite ' he distorted it to read

וַיִּדְּ אֶלְחָנָן בֶּן יַעֲרִי אֶת-לַחְמִי אָחִי גִלְיָת הַחִתִּי

' Elhanan, the son of Yair, smote Lahmi, the brother of Goliath, the Hittite '. One might conveniently imagine an extreme type of Midrashic exponent indulging in such violent juggling of the words and saying : ' Read not **בית הלחמי** but **את לחמי** and read not **את גלית** but **אחי גלית**. Whence we learn that Goliath, the Hittite, had a brother named Lahmi, who was also of gigantic stature and who threatened the tribes of Israel. He was slain by Elhanan, following the slaying of Goliath by David '. However that may be, the point is that the Rabbinic concern for the removal of contradictions and the employment of Midrashic exposition to this end, in the face of fixed texts, have their prototypes in the drastic action of the Chronicler, who actually altered his text and produced another version of the incident.

An example of a folkloristic story, associated with a Biblical text, is given in Sotah 36b-37a. R. Meir is quoted as saying : ' When the Israelites stood at the sea, the tribes vied with each other for the honour of entering it first, but the tribe of Benjamin jumped into the sea first, as it is written (Psalm lxxviii, 28), **שָׁם בְּנִימָן רוֹדֵם** (meaning "there Benjamin ruleth them"). Read not **רוֹדֵם** but **רד ים** ("going down to the sea"). And the princes of Judah stoned them, for it is said **שָׂרֵי יְהוּדָה רִגְמָתָם** (meaning "the princes of Judah in their council") '. The word **רִגְמָתָם** is clearly given the meaning from the root **רָגַם** 'stoned'. This example is brought as an introduction to the question, as to whether interpretation of the Aggadic pattern, as well as that of Midrash Halakha, did not find some expression in the scholastic activities of the Jews when sacred texts were available and taught, at least in the post-exilic period of the Old Testament. The author of II Chronicles xvii, 9, in extolling the virtues of King Jehoshaphat ascribes to him the merit of having appointed itinerant teachers, who toured the country giving instruction in Torah—

וַעֲמָקָם סֵפֶר תּוֹרַת יְהוָה וַיָּסֹבּוּ בְּכָל-עָרֵי יְהוּדָה וַיְלַמְדוּ בָעָם

Clearly the Chronicler refers to an institution of his own day,

for the introduction of which the character of the Yahweh-true Jehoshaphat seemed most likely. Our question gains further point when we try to understand what is meant by Nehemiah viii, 8, where, in the description of the public reading of the Torah by Ezra, we learn that

וַיִּקְרְאוּ בַסֵּפֶר תּוֹרַת אֱלֹהִים מִפָּרֶשׁ וְשׁוֹם שָׁכַל וַיְבִינּוּ בַמִּקְרָא

'They read in the Book of the Torah of God distinctly and gave the sense and caused them to understand the reading'. The Rabbinic comment on this verse, recorded in Megilla 3a, and elsewhere, that מְפֹרֵשׁ זֶה תַּרְגוּם—'distinctly' means 'interpretation' seems very probable, though the explanation of וְשׁוֹם שָׁכַל 'giving the sense' as referring to verse division is hardly to be reckoned seriously. It may be that וְשׁוֹם שָׁכַל is nothing more than a gloss upon the word מְפֹרֵשׁ in the attempt to explain it, in which case we would not have to seek any special significance in the phrase. The point is, however, that the teaching of Torah by means of some kind of interpretation seems to be indicated. The tendency towards interpretation is further suggested by such examples as the Deuteronomist's Decalogue in Deuteronomy v, 6-18, and the numerous explanatory glosses which had become incorporated into the text.¹ One wonders whether the Talmudic expression, quoted earlier מַאי תּוֹרָה: מְדַרְשׁ תּוֹרָה ('What is Torah? It is the interpretation of Torah') is much older, in practice, than the Talmudic age, whose studies of Scripture it characterises.

The obscurity surrounding the period of the Sopherim and the part they played in the development of Judaism gives little upon which we could build a sound hypothesis of the nature of textual interpretation which must have emanated from their teachings. That the Sopherim set the pattern of what later became Rabbinic Judaism is the view which may be inferred from Sanhedrin 88b where reference is made to a certain law which is described as

דָּבָר שֶׁעִיקְרוֹ מְדַבְּרֵי תּוֹרָה וּפִירוּשׁוֹ מְדַבְּרֵי סוֹפְרִים

¹ e.g., in Psalm lv, 16b כִּי רָעוּת בְּמִגְוָרָם בְּקִרְבָּם 'for wickedness is in their dwellings amongst them'. The line ends with an awkward duplication and one of these last two words seems to be an explanatory note on the other.

'the main (element) of which is in Scripture, but its interpretation comes from the works of the Sopherim'. The period of the Sopherim must surely have provided the transition from the latest Biblical to the earliest Talmudic legalistic and literary activity. The field of their activity has not yet been fully explored and constitutes one of the missing links in the chain of the evolution of Judaism. Had our knowledge of the Sopherim been fuller, more light might have been shed on the treatment of sacred texts by them and, possibly, also by their predecessors.

To sum up, then it may be said that the Rabbinic approach to the study of the Old Testament was determined primarily by practical religious considerations. These permitted and encouraged such modifications, adaptations and extensions of the primary sense of the text, for the purpose of supporting Rabbinic teachings, in the spheres of Halakha and Aggada. Though rational principles of study did emerge in the course of time, these were not regarded, in any way, as invalidating the system of Derash interpretation. This dual approach was carried over into medieval Jewish exegesis but, whereas Derash is more prominently manifested in Talmudic writings, Peshat emerges more explicitly in the former, not only as a means of ascertaining the true sense of the text but also to uphold the Talmudic tradition. This mental attitude, which brings the import of a text into line with contemporary teachings is discernible more forcibly in the treatment of documents by the Deuteronomist, the Priestly writer and the Chronicler. We may, indeed, trace this process much further back when we bear in mind that even the earlier schools took the raw materials of religious, literary and legal ideas and practices which were in existence and remoulded them, in their compositions, as the instruments for the transmission of their views and teachings. We may, therefore, conclude that the Rabbinic approach to the study of sacred texts is but the continuation of the attitude and spirit of the texts' authors. Though our search for the truth may be conducted by the principles of objective study, theirs at least had the merit of producing and transmitting religious and ethical ideals of abiding worth.

HAND-LIST OF ADDITIONS TO THE COLLECTION OF ENGLISH MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, 1937-1951

By F. TAYLOR, M.A., PH.D.

KEEPER OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY

THE present Hand-List is the fourth dealing with the Library's collection of English manuscripts¹ and, like its predecessors, covers a wide range of subjects—historical, literary, theological, genealogical and biographical. Two hundred and fifty additions, varying greatly in importance, are described, of which the majority date from the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Apart from a number of photostats,² only one manuscript of direct interest to the medievalist occurs, a sixteenth-century copy of the "Libelle of Englyshe Polycye",³ the earliest extant treatise on economic geography in English and one of the most remarkable of early English political poems. Although rather late in date, this manuscript is of considerable value, for it shows noteworthy differences from and additions to the established text and provides new evidence regarding the form and date of the second 'edition' of the "Libelle"; it is not recorded in the standard work on the subject by Sir George Warner.

A number of the acquisitions supplement manuscript materials already in the Library. As regards the seventeenth century there are, for example, additions⁴ to our collection of the correspondence and papers of Sir Robert Clayton, Lord

¹ For the three preceding see *Hand-List of the Collection of English Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library*, 1928 (1929) and *Hand-List of Additions . . . 1928-35* (1935), both by M. Tyson, and Taylor, *Supplementary Hand-List of Western Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library*, 1937 (1937), pp. 21 sqq.

² Below Eng. MSS. 954 (St. Christopher: *Marvels of the East*: *Marvels of India*. Tenth cent.), 956 (Layamon's *Brut*. Thirteenth cent.) and 951-53 (The Siege of Jerusalem. All fifteenth century).

³ Eng. MS. 955. The "Libelle" has survived in two forms or 'editions', the first of which was composed in 1436-37. ⁴ Eng. MSS. 943, 959, 986.

Mayor of London (1679-80), and his partner Alderman John Morris, while for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries further accessions¹ have been made to the various collections, now extensive, relating to Indian and East India Company affairs. The largest of these additional groups comprises what must be one of the most important single collections available relating to the Moravian Brethren.² Brought together over a period of many years by the Moravian scholar the Reverend J. N. Libbey and bequeathed by him to the Library, it covers almost every aspect of the Brethren's history and includes transcripts from the Herrnhut archives and from the archives of the British Province. It is particularly rich in biographical information, in records of the various synods and conferences of that Church, in hymnological and liturgical materials, and in the history of the Moravians in England. The Library is also indebted to Mr. Libbey for a set, unfortunately not quite complete, of the Moravian Headquarters' Diary for the years 1747 to 1764,³ the whole period for which this particular record was compiled and circulated; the set consists of an eighteenth-century English translation for 1747-53 and 1755-64 inclusive, running to over ten thousand folios, and a German transcription for 1747-54.

Several large groups of correspondence of varied interest occur. They include four volumes of consular correspondence and papers of Viscount Mount-Stuart, later first Marquess of Bute,⁴ of which the first three contain some 660 letters from Consuls, Vice-Consuls and Agents at Nice, Leghorn, Genoa and elsewhere in South Europe addressed to Mount-Stuart as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Turin (1779-1783, in which year he was appointed Ambassador to Spain) and to the *Chargés d'Affaires* there; enclosures include intelligence reports from the ports of France and Spain. The fourth volume, which extends to 441 folios, contains official copies of memorials, correspondence, and reports forwarded with his despatches together with treaties and political documents, among them being letters and papers (1781-1782)

¹ Eng. MSS. 926-35. See also 970, 1025, 1088.

² Eng. MSS. 965, 1054-87. See also 910, 945-50.

³ Eng. MSS. 945-50. See also 1073.

⁴ Eng. MSS. 1145-48.

relating to the capture of Fort St. Philip, Minorca. Another acquisition consists of ten volumes of private and business correspondence of the Wedgwood family for the years 1758 to 1804 and notably of the famous potter Josiah Wedgwood, senior.¹ Although copies, these letters were transcribed when the originals were still preserved together in the middle of last century, and their value is increased by the fact that those originals are now scattered and some of them, at least, apparently no longer in existence. Among the correspondents are many well-known figures, including Wedgwood's partner Thomas Bentley, the two Watts, Garrick, Reynolds, Benjamin Franklin, Erasmus Darwin, Arkwright and Anna Seward. Two other considerable collections of business correspondence worthy of mention are those of the Yorkshire merchant John Micklethwaite for the years 1786 to 1838² and of the Manchester merchant Pietro Ascagno Tealdi, the latter relating to the cloth trade between 1836 and 1838.³ An acquisition of Stanley Papers includes boyhood letters of the famous Dean Stanley⁴ and family and miscellaneous correspondence, numbering roughly four hundred items, of the social reformer, Edward Lyulph Stanley,⁵ fourth Lord Stanley of Alderley and fourth Lord Sheffield, who has won a name for himself as a pioneer in many branches of education; among Edward Stanley's letters are a number, all of considerable length, from the American author Sarah Dorsey.⁶ Of both local and more general interest are the extensive papers of the Hibbert-Ware family,⁷ which had close connexions with Manchester, and of the Nicholson family⁸ of Liverpool and Manchester. Both, again, are rich in correspondence, the former containing well over two thousand letters and papers, mostly concerning the geologist and antiquary Dr. Samuel Hibbert-Ware,⁹ and the latter over 1500 private and business letters of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹⁰ Smaller in number, but likewise of both local and general interest, are the correspondence of the Rev. Henry Raikes,¹¹ who was Chancellor of the Diocese of

¹ Eng. MSS. 1101-10.² Eng. MS. 1138.³ Eng. MS. 1130.⁴ Eng. MS. 1089.⁵ Eng. MSS. 1092-95.⁶ Eng. MS. 1094.⁷ Eng. MSS. 989-1038.⁸ Eng. MSS. 1041-53.⁹ Eng. MSS. 990-1022. For letters of other members of this family see 1026-27.¹⁰ Eng. MSS. 1041-48.¹¹ Eng. MS. 1121.

Chester from 1830-54; letters from Florence Nightingale relating to hospital building in Lancashire (1865-1868);¹ and letters and papers of the distinguished chemist Sir Henry Roscoe.² Attention is also drawn to a six-volume catalogue of the correspondence and papers of William Pitt the younger, compiled in 1834 by the son of his literary executor.³ This should serve as a useful reference work for the historian of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, and perhaps more, for in most cases the compiler, not satisfied with a brief reference, has given abstracts of and sometimes quotations from Pitt's letters. Various other collections of letters occur, but it has been found more convenient to refer to these below.

Apart from correspondence and political and family papers, mention should be made of a number of other historical manuscripts. Among them is a volume of sermons⁴ which the Puritan divine William Benn (d. 1680) delivered in 1661 and 1662 and which Richard Allein, who, like Benn, was ejected under the Act of Uniformity, copied very shortly after their delivery. The only printed sermons of Benn were published in 1683, after his death, under the title "Soul-prosperity"; it is one of the rarest of later Puritan books. Also of the seventeenth century is a folio⁵ containing works of Richard Lanceter, "sometimes of Cajus Colledge in Cambridge and Minist:^r of Moulton in Norfolk", which, as indicated in the description below, raises various bibliographical problems. A little later in date are a small group of Townshend Papers⁶ and financial accounts relating to the estates of the Bishopric of Winchester,⁷ together with a leasehold book,⁸ the bulk of the entries in which are concerned with the Bishop's estates in the time of Benjamin Hoadly (1734-61). Also of interest to the ecclesiastical historian is a holography of Humphrey Prideaux, Dean of Norwich from 1702 to 1724, on the subject of ecclesiastical law.⁹ In addition may be found a number of diaries and journals. Of these perhaps the most noteworthy are a diary, apparently of Sir Edmund

¹ Eng. MS. 1154.

² Eng. MSS. 963-64.

³ Eng. MS. 908. For a similar catalogue relating to Lord Melville's miscellaneous East India correspondence see Eng. MS. 927.

⁴ Eng. MS. 960.

⁵ Eng. MS. 1157.

⁶ Eng. MSS. 938-41.

⁷ Eng. MS. 1143.

⁸ Eng. MS. 1144.

⁹ Eng. MS. 1152.

Prideaux, of a journey on the continent made between 1710 and 1712;¹ the journals, in five volumes (1761-1802), of Dorothy Richardson, daughter of a Rector of Thornton in Craven in Yorkshire (W.R.);² and the boyhood diary of Dean Stanley (1828).³

Literary manuscripts are not numerous. In addition to those mentioned above in other connexions, they include two volumes of original letters (1744-1790) from the Rev. John Mulso to his friend Gilbert White of Selborne⁴ and a collection, rather slight, of Burney letters and papers.⁵ The most unusual of the literary items is an eighteenth-century theatrical calendar,⁶ apparently compiled by an actor, listing performances given at Covent Garden (1740-1741) and the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane (1741-1742), and containing annotations respecting the performers and miscellaneous information about the plays. A holograph manuscript of Samuel Bamford's glossary of the South Lancashire dialect⁷ contains additions to the word-lists given in the printed editions.

As regards local history, Cheshire is most fully represented, although the historian of Lancashire will find much of value in the Hibbert-Ware and Nicholson Papers, to which reference has already been made.⁸ The two largest groups of Cheshire interest are the collections brought together by the antiquaries William Nicholls (d. 1809) of Chester⁹ and H. Hulme of Timperley.¹⁰ Nicholls was in correspondence with, among other antiquaries, Daniel and Samuel Lysons¹¹ and provided them with information for the account of Cheshire given in the *Magna Britannia*. He was also interested in armorials and his collections include an original manuscript of the last of the Heralds' Visitations of Cheshire, by Dugdale, which took place in September 1663 and July 1664.¹² The arms in this volume were apparently not drawn by Dugdale himself and are possibly the work

¹ Eng. MS. 1153.

² Eng. MSS. 1122-26. See also 1127-29.

³ Eng. MS. 1090.

⁴ Eng. MS. 911.

⁵ Eng. MS. 913.

⁶ Eng. MS. 1111.

⁷ Eng. MS. 969.

⁸ See also Eng. MSS. 909, 914, 962, 1100, 1137, 1149.

⁹ Eng. MSS. 916-25.

¹⁰ Eng. MSS. 971-85. See also 968.

¹¹ See Eng. MSS. 916-17.

¹² Eng. MS. 923. For others of Nicholls' armorials see 924-25.

of his "little clerk", Gregory King, who tricked others of his visitations. But many notes and comments on the coats throughout are in Dugdale's hand and he also compiled the index; in 1664 he presented the volume to Roger Wilbraham of Nantwich. The Cheshire historian Thomas Helsby is represented by a manuscript which includes extracts made by him from the "Parish Books" of Frodsham for the period from 1608 to 1717.¹ Other items relating to the same county are a note-book of receipts for miscellaneous payments (1646-1649) made by Robert Harvie, Treasurer to the Committee of Sequestration in Wirral Hundred,² a seventeenth century letter-book of the Sheriff Sir Thomas Cholmondeley,³ and estate and account books of the two following centuries.⁴ For Shropshire there is a seventeenth-century legal formulary compiled for his own use by one of the Justices of the Peace,⁵ and for Westmorland a Pain Book of Thornthwaite (seventeenth-eighteenth century).⁶

Certain other items are more closely connected with the Library itself and with the history of its contents. First among these should be mentioned the illuminated scroll presented to Mrs. Rylands when the Freedom of the City of Manchester was conferred upon her in 1899.⁷ A Minute Book of the Bibliographical Society of Lancashire⁸ contains entries in the hands of two former Librarians, E. Gordon Duff and Dr. Henry Guppy. Of interest to the bibliographer are two manuscript catalogues, one of the library at Longford Hall,⁹ the contents of which later became part of the Rylands Library, and the other,¹⁰ compiled by Gordon Duff in 1896, of books printed on vellum in this Library. Finally, there are two collections of correspondence,¹¹ ranging in date from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth, associated with Earl Spencer and Althorp; they include letters from several well-known scholars and bibliographers, notably Dibdin, who is responsible for some one hundred and fifty items. Earl Spencer's library, distinguished for its superb collection of incunabula and other rarities, was

¹ Eng. MS. 1150.² Eng. MS. 957.³ Eng. MS. 1091.⁴ Eng. MSS. 1096, 1131-32.⁵ Eng. MS. 1142.⁶ Eng. MS. 1155.⁷ Eng. MS. 1139.⁸ Eng. MS. 1134.⁹ The residence of John Rylands and his wife. Eng. MS. 1140.¹⁰ Eng. MS. 1133.¹¹ Eng. MSS. 915, 1151.

purchased by Mrs. Rylands in 1892¹ and now forms part of the John Rylands Library.

In the following descriptions the number [R . . .] is the Library accession number and should not be used for reference purposes. References should be made to the running numbers (908-1157), preceded by the words "Rylands English MS(S.)".

908. [R. 78949.] PITT PAPERS: CATALOGUE OF CORRESPONDENCE.

6 vols. (807 ff.). 230 × 185 (I-II) and 254 × 210 (III-VI) mm. 1834.

* * Catalogue of correspondence and papers of William Pitt compiled in 1834 by William Edward Tomline, son of George Pretymman Tomline, Bishop of Winchester, Pitt's tutor and literary executor. Most of the letters are dated in the 1780's and 1790's. The volumes cover the following years: I, 1773-1806; II, 1774-1823; III, 1754-1806; IV, 1759-1806; V, 1724-1806; VI, 1702-1806. In most cases a lengthy description of the contents of each letter is given, sometimes with extracts. From the collection of George Pretymman Tomline, Bishop of Winchester. Colbeck Radford & Co., Ltd., Cat. 65, Lot 98.

909. [R. 79355.] LEGAL COMMONPLACE-BOOK.

Paper. 124 ff. 322 × 204 mm. xviiith cent.

* * Presented by Blanshard Stamp, Esq. A volume, imperfect at the beginning and end, containing copies of some one hundred and fifty legal documents of various kinds of the early 18th century, relating for the most part to North and East Lancashire. Original numbering: 9-258 (pp.). Vellum binding.

910. [R. 80649.] MORAVIAN CHURCH: SYNODS, 1764-82.

Paper. 320 ff. 263 × 198 mm. sixth cent.

* * Presented by the Moravian Union through Rev. J. N. Libbey. *Conclusions of the Four Synods of the Brethren's Unity of the Years 1764, 1769, 1775, 1782*, f. 1, title-page. Bound by Bramhall and Menzies.

911. [R. 81459.] ORIGINAL LETTERS: REV. JOHN MULSO TO REV. GILBERT WHITE.

233 items. Various sizes. 1744-90.

* * Presented by the Earl of Stamford. Letters from the Rev. John Mulso (1721-91) to his friend Gilbert White of Selborne, bound in two volumes (1744-69, 1770-90). They came into the possession of John White the publisher, a nephew of the naturalist, and passed from him to his son the Rev. John Tahourdin White, D.D., on whose death (1893) they became the

¹ A number of English MSS. (47-49, 52-53, 62-72, and 74) were included in this purchase. Among them are Dibdin's "Bibliotheca Spenceriana" in 4 vols. (Eng. MS. 68) and a collection of letters addressed to him by John George, Earl Spencer (Eng. MS. 71).

property of the 9th Earl of Stamford, a descendant of Gilbert White's youngest brother Henry. 19th century half-calf binding, rebacked. Printed by Rashleigh Holt-White, *The Letters to Gilbert White of Selborne from His Intimate Friend and Contemporary the Rev. John Mulso*, London [1906].

912. [R. 81481.] GEORGE III: CORRESPONDENCE.

41 items. Various sizes. xixth cent.

* * Mid-19th century transcripts of correspondence (1783-87) of George III with William Pitt dealing with various matters, including the appointment of Officers of State, Defence, Parliamentary Reform, taxation, foreign affairs and debts of the Prince of Wales. Colbeck Radford & Co., Ltd., Cat. 72, Lot 70. Bound in one volume by Bramhall and Menzies.

913. [R. 81480.] BURNEY MSS.

14 items. Various sizes. 1801-60.

* * Burney manuscripts and letters, comprising two autograph letters (1801, 1810) of Dr. Charles Burney, the musician, to his son Charles and notes in his hand; two poems in the hand of the second-named Charles (brother of Fanny Burney), addressed to his grand-daughter Fanny, with a letter (1814) to the same; and two autograph letters of Charles Parr Burney (1841, 1860). Colbeck Radford & Co., Ltd., Cat. 72, no. 26. Bound in one volume by Bramhall and Menzies.

914. [R. 81507.] COMMONPLACE-BOOK.

Paper, 123 ff. 144 × 93 mm. xvii-xviii cent.

* * Presented by R. Sharpe France, Esq. Contains numerous receipts, miscellaneous notes and a number of extracts from Sessions Records, including copies of a licence for Edmund Trafford, Esq., recusant, to travel to Buxton, co. Derby (1679) and of an authorisation to levy a tax for the erection of stocks and a rogues' post in Eccles, co. Lanc. (1687). Former owners: *This book was given me by old Officer Birch 12^o January 1715 and y^e receipts therein being of his owne hand writeing were in great esteem by many of y^e Gent. (his freinds) ab.^t Stretford [co. Lanc.], J. Lowe, f. 20; John Lowe, inner front cover. 18th century calf binding.*

915. [SPENCER COLLECTION.] ALTHORP: LETTERS AND PAPERS.

68 items. Various sizes. xvii-xix cent.

* * Miscellaneous letters (42) and papers from the Althorp collection in the John Rylands Library. Among the letters are several from well-known scholars and bibliographers, including Richard Bentley (no. 5, to Dr. Davies of Queen's College, Cambridge, respecting Prof. Joshua Barnes's 'new edition' of Homer), Philip Bliss (no. 27, to T. F. Dibdin), T. F. Dibdin (nos. 12-16, to Thomas Johnes of Hafod respecting the Alchorne Library) and F. J. Furnivall (no. 38); also from Jean Baptiste Boldoni (no. 8, acknowledging a payment from Lord Spencer). The papers include items in the hands of the bibliographers Antoine-Augustin Renouard (no. 46) and William Herbert (no. 47).

- 916-25. [R. 81524.] NICHOLLS MSS. Letters and manuscripts of the Cheshire antiquary William Nicholls, Esq., F.S.A. (d. 1809) of Chester, for a note on whom see *The Cheshire Sheaf*, 3rd Ser., vol. xxxiii (Jan.-Dec. 1938), pp. 96, 101. Halliday Cat. No. 230, Lot 153.

916-17. [R. 81524.] NICHOLLS MSS.: CORRESPONDENCE.

225 items. Various sizes. c. 1806-09.

* * Relates almost entirely to Cheshire (parochial history, manors, topography, genealogies and kindred matters). In two boxes, as follows: I (916). Letters from (nos. 1-11) and to (nos. 12-111, Armitstead—Litler) William Nicholls; II (917). Letters to Nicholls (nos. 112-211, Lyon-end) and miscellaneous letters (nos. 212-25). Much of this correspondence appears to have been occasioned in connexion with the assistance Nicholls gave to Daniel and Samuel Lysons for the account of Cheshire in the *Magna Britannia*. Among the correspondents are the Lysons themselves, G. F. Beltz, and Hugh Cholmondeley, Dean of Chester.

918-21. [R. 81524.] NICHOLLS MSS.: CHESHIRE NOTES.

Various sizes. Early sixteenth cent.

* * Four boxes of notes by Nicholls on Cheshire manors, parishes, churches and topography, arranged under names of places, as follows:—

I (918.) A-B	III (920.) E-R
II (919.) C-D	IV (921.) S-end

922. [R. 81524.] NICHOLLS MSS.: GENEALOGICAL NOTES.

Various sizes. Early sixteenth cent.

* * One box of Cheshire notes by Nicholls, mostly genealogical, arranged under names of persons and families.

923. [R. 81524.] NICHOLLS MSS.: DUGDALE ARMORIAL.

Paper. 21 ff. 237 × 180 mm. xviii cent.

* * *Armes of the Gentry of Cheshire, entred in the Visitation of that County made in A^o 1663 and 1664 by me William Dugdale, Esq^r., Norroy King of Armes* (f. 5). 172 coats in trick and 16 blank. With notes throughout by Dugdale and an index (ff. 1-2) in his hand. Former owners: Roger Wilbraham of Nantwich, to whom Dugdale presented it in 1664 (f. 4); William Nicholls. Bound by Bramhall and Menzies. See A. Adams, *Cheshire Visitation Pedigrees, 1663*, London, 1941 (Harleian Soc., vol. 93).

924. [R. 81524.] NICHOLLS MSS.: CHESHIRE ARMORIAL.

Paper. 61 ff. 310 × 195 mm. c. 1800.

* * Contains over four hundred coats of arms in trick and three emblazoned, with nine engraved coats (including two of William Nicholls, ff. 47^v, 48) inserted. Former owner: William Nicholls. Bound by Bramhall and Menzies.

925. [R. 81524.] NICHOLLS MSS.: CHESHIRE ARMORIAL.

Paper. 25 ff. Various sizes. xvii-xviii cent.

* * Three manuscripts bound together: (1) ff. 1-2, extracts from *The*

Visitation of R. St. George, A^o 1613; (2) ff. 3-17, *Armes in Cheshire after the maner of the Alphabeth*; (3) ff. 18-25, miscellaneous coats of arms (many blank) and crests. Former owner: William Nicholls.

926. [R. 81525.] MELVILLE PAPERS: CORRESPONDENCE.

61 items. Various sizes. 1786-1828.

* * Correspondence (originals, copies, duplicates) of Henry Dundas, 1st Viscount Melville, and of Robert Dundas, 2nd Viscount, relating mostly to Indian and East India Company affairs. Includes letters of John Bruce, William Devaynes, Jonathan Duncan, Lord Eldon, David Scott and Andrew Stuart. Nos. 20-28 concern the purchase of a house in Downing Street, London, for the East India Company (1801). Halliday Cat. No. 230, Lot 336. For other Melville papers in the Library, now Ryl. Eng. MSS. 670-99, see M. Tyson, *Hand-List of Additions to the Collection of English Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, 1928-35* (1935).

927. [R. 81525.] MELVILLE PAPERS: MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS AND PAPERS.

91 items. Various sizes. 1789-1847.

* * Letters and papers, in one box, relating to the mutiny of officers in the Madras army (1809, nos. 1-3), Capt. Milliken Craig, a senior officer of the East India Company (1799-1811, nos. 4-24), cadetships in the East India Company and appointments (1789-1822, nos. 25-61); nos. 62-91 are miscellaneous letters and documents (1789-1847), including *Cursory Remarks Respecting India* (a MS. treatise endorsed Mr. [Jacob] Bosanquet [Chairman of the East India Company], June 1808), *Précis of the Correspondence between the President of the Board of Control and the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India Company (1807-10)*, and an *Index of Subjects to the Catalogue of Lord Melville's Miscellaneous East India Correspondence*. Acquired with 926 above.

928. [R. 82415.] PITT PAPERS: EAST INDIA COMPANY.

438 items. Various sizes. 1782-84.

* * Arranged in seven boxes. Transcripts and copies (mostly certified by secretaries, deputies or Directors) of correspondence between the Court of Directors of the East India Company, the President and Select Committee at Fort St. George, and the Governor-General and Council at Fort William, in their various departments, on matters of all kinds relating to the Company (military, financial, commercial, political, legal and general), with extracts from Minutes and proceedings, General Reports and numerous enclosures. The original groups, each preceded by a *List of Papers*, have been retained; several concern Lord Macartney and the Nabob of Arcot, Major-General Stuart, General Mathews and Mr. Bristow, Resident at Lucknow.

929. [R. 82415.] PITT PAPERS: EAST INDIA COMPANY.

51 items. Various sizes. xviii-xixth cent.

* * In one box. Miscellaneous letters and papers relating to military and political affairs of the Company.

930. [R. 82415.] PITT PAPERS: EAST INDIA COMPANY.

64 items. Various sizes. xviii-xixth cent.

* * In two boxes. Miscellaneous letters and papers relating to financial matters.

931. [R. 82415.] PITT PAPERS: EAST INDIA COMPANY.

39 items. Various sizes. xviii-xixth cent.

* * In two boxes. Miscellaneous letters and papers relating to commercial affairs.

932. [R. 82415.] PITT PAPERS: EAST INDIA COMPANY.

Paper. 76 ff. 380 × 250 mm. Late xviiiith cent.

* * *Statement on the Nature of and the Mode and Expense of Collecting the Bengal Customs according to the Plans of 1773 and 1781*, a manuscript book.

933. [R. 82415.] PITT PAPERS: EAST INDIA COMPANY.

Paper. 111 ff. 382 × 243 mm. c. 1792.

* * *Mr. Scott, Mr. Baring, Mr. Smith and Mr. Anderson's Statements respecting the Trade and Revenues of the East India Company*, a manuscript book.

934. [82415.] PITT PAPERS: EAST INDIA COMPANY.

Paper. 144 ff. 385 × 247 mm. Late xviiiith cent.

* * *Tanjore and Arcot Reports*, i.e. Reports on the Company's assumption of the revenues of Tanjore and Arcot in 1790. Two copies bound in one volume.

935. [R. 82415.] PITT PAPERS: EAST INDIA COMPANY.

Papers. 131 ff. 320 × 200 mm. Late xviiiith cent.

* * *Abstract of the several Plans transmitted relative to the future Government of Bengal and the other British Settlements in India*, a manuscript book. Ff. 107-31, blank.

936. [R. 52198.] NEW TESTAMENT.

Paper. 73 ff. 167 × 108 mm. 1697.

* * From the Dr. D. Lloyd Roberts' bequest. New Testament in short-hand, illustrated with four engravings (St. Mathew, St. Mark, Salutation, St. John). English contemporary binding in black morocco with gold tooling.

937. [R. 82677.] WILLIAM PITT: CONVICT LABOUR.

Paper. 24 ff. 370 × 235 mm. 1784.

* * *Mémoire sur l'emploi des forçats aux ouvrages publics, dressé par moi soussigné pour la satisfaction de Monsieur Pitt, qui m'a fait l'honneur de me le faire demander par le S^r Beaumont, mon élève. Signed (f. 20^v) Michaud, and directed A Monsieur, Monsieur Pitte, à Lausan.* Ff. 21-24, blank.

938. [R. 82713.] TOWNSHEND PAPERS: LABOURERS' ACCOUNTS.

101 items. Various sizes. 1666-67.

* * Bills and receipts for labouring work of various kinds done for Horatio, Baron Townshend (later 1st Viscount), including gardening, carpentering, harvesting, mowing, mason's work, draining, brewing and ditching. One item only relates to 1667.

939. [R. 82713.] TOWNSHEND PAPERS: MILITIA.

51 items. Various sizes. xviiith cent.

* * Miscellaneous letters and papers relating to the Militia, together with an amended and annotated proof of *A Bill to explain and amend an Act [of 2 Geo. III] intituled An Act to explain, amend and reduce into One Act of Parliament the several Laws now in being, relating to the raising and training the Militia, within that Part of Great Britain called England*, and notes on the Militia of Piedmont, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland.

940. [R. 82713.] TOWNSHEND PAPERS: MISCELLANEA.

54 items. Various sizes. xviii-xixth cent.

* * Miscellaneous letters and papers, mostly relating to applications for assistance, addressed to George Townshend, 4th Viscount (later 1st Marquis) Townshend, as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (1767-72), with a number of memoranda in his hand. No. 19 is a letter from Hardwicke to Townshend respecting the Commission of the Peace for Norfolk, 12 Sept. 1747, and No. 37 a letter to Townshend from his son at Eton, 25 Oct. 1778.

941. [R. 82713.] TOWNSHEND PAPERS: RENTAL.

Paper. 40 ff. 390 × 160 mm. 1724-61.

* * Rental of the manor of Horsham St. Faith, Norfolk. Ff. 32^v-38^v, blank. Bound by Bramhall and Menzies.

942. [R. 82450.] PARLIAMENT.

Paper. 85 ff. 308 × 205 mm. xvith cent.

* * *The proceedings or a journall of the passages in the Second Session of Parliament holden at Westminster in y^e 4th yeare of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lord Charles, by y^e grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defendor of y^e Faith, etc., begun y^e 20th of January and ended the 10th of March An^o: Domini 1628[129], i.e. the True Relation. Cf. Commons Debates for 1629, ed. W. Notestein and F. H. Relf (Research Publications of the University of Minnesota, Studies in the Social Sciences, No. 10), pp. 4 sqq.; f. 69, A petition against the precedencie of the Scottish and Irish nobillitie; f. 72, A copie of the apologie of the Lord Viscount Faulkeland, Lord Deputie of Ireland, to the Lords of His Ma^{ties} Privie Councell; f. 80, a brief account of the examinations of Sir Peter Hayman, Sir John Eliot, Sir Miles Hobart and Denzil Holles; ff. 82-5, blank. Former owners: Sir John Napier (f. 2); John Jacob, found among my grandfather's papers (f. 3). Contemporary calf binding, gilt. G. H. Last, Cat. 239, No. 702.*

943. [R. 83297.] CLAYTON PAPERS.

28 items. Various sizes. xvii-xviii cent.

* * Miscellaneous business letters and papers relating to Sir Robert Clayton (*D.N.B.*), Sheriff, Alderman and Lord Mayor of London, and his partner Alderman John Morris. Colbeck Radford & Co., Ltd., Cat. 82, No. 35. See also Taylor, *Hand-List of Charters, Deeds and Similar Documents in the Possession of the John Rylands Library, III* (1937), pp. 1-2, 37-63, and *Supplementary Hand-List of Western Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, 1937*, pp. 21, 29, 30, and below English MSS. 959, 986.

944. [R. 78006.] ROGER PAYNE: BILLS FOR BINDINGS.

38 items. Various sizes. xviii cent.

* * Positive photostats of the collection now in the Pierpont Morgan Library. See *A Catalogue of a Collection of Books formed by James Toovey, principally from the Library of the Earl of Gosford, the property of J. Pierpont Morgan* (New York, 1901), p. 160. For original Payne bills for bindings in the John Rylands Library see English MS. 440.

945-50. [R. 92156.] MORAVIAN CHURCH: HEADQUARTERS' DIARY, 1747-64.

Paper. Various sizes. xviii cent.

* * Presented by the Moravian Union through the Rev. J. N. Libbey. An 18th century English translation,¹ in several hands, of the Moravian Headquarters (Gemeinhaus) Diary for the years 1747-53, 1755-64 (incomplete), in six boxes, as follows: I, 945: 1747 (329 ff.), 1748 (144 ff.), 1749 (169 ff.), 1750 (453 ff.), 1751 (988 ff.); II, 946: 1752 (255 ff.), 1753 (216 ff.), 1755 (907 ff.), 1756 (1,009 ff.); III, 947: 1757 (659 ff.), 1758 (1,024 ff.); IV, 948: 1759 (895 ff.), 1760 (875 ff.); V, 949: 1761 (710 ff.), 1762 (705 ff.); VI, 950: 1763 (637 ff.), 1764 (86 ff.).

951. [R. 82732.] THE SIEGE OF JERUSALEM.

i + 21 + i. 253 × 200 mm. xvth cent.

* * Negative photostats of the English alliterative poem *Destructio de Ierusalem per Titum et Vespasianum* from Cambridge University Library MS. Mm. V. 14 (art. 3). Bound by Bramhall and Menzies.

952. [R. 82733.] THE SIEGE OF JERUSALEM.

i + 34 + i. 250 × 202 mm. c. 1450.

* * Negative photostats of *Distruccio Ierusalem . . . The Segge of Ierusalem off Tytus and Vaspasyane* from B. M. Add. MS. 31,042, ff. 50-66. Bound by Bramhall and Menzies.

953. [R. 82734.] THE SIEGE OF JERUSALEM.

i + 22 + i. 245 × 202 mm. xvth cent.

* * Negative photostats of *he sege of Jerusalem* from Lambeth Palace MS. 491 (art. 2). Bound by Bramhall and Menzies.

¹ With the English translation were presented portions of a German transcription for the years 1747-54. These are now Ryl. German MSS. 19-21.

954. [R. 82735.] ST. CHRISTOPHER: MARVELS OF THE EAST: MARVELS OF INDIA.

i + 39 + i. 245 × 185 mm. Late xth cent.

* * Negative photostats of the life of St. Christopher (art. 5), Marvels of the East (art. 6) and the supposititious epistle of Alexander the Great to Aristotle on the Marvels of India (art. 7), in Anglo-Saxon, from B.M. Cotton MS. Vitellius A XV. Bound by Bramhall and Menzies.

955. [R. 83734.] THE LIBELLE OF ENGLYSHE POLYCYE.

Paper. 27 ff. 217 × 158 mm. xvth cent.

* * A copy of the *Libelle of Englyshe Polycye*, the earliest known treatise in English on economic and political geography, made up of 24 ff. of an imperfect mid-16th century MS. plus 3 (ff. 3, 6-7), added later in the same century, on which omissions are supplied by two hands from two other MSS.; other omissions are supplied, in the hand responsible for the contents of f. 3, on f. 2 (originally blank) and on pieces of paper attached to the foot of ff. 23 and 24. Parchment binding. Former owners: *Mr. Chokey*, 17th cent. (outer front cover); Sir Matthew Hale (d. 1676). For a full account of this MS., which is not recorded in Sir George Warner's edition of the *Libelle* (1926) and shows many important differences from the established text, including a number of additional lines, see F. Taylor, *Some Manuscripts of the "Libelle of Englyshe Polycye"* 1940 (repr. from the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol. 24).

956. [R. 82736.] LAYAMON'S BRUT.

i + 193 + i. 243 × 189 mm. Early xiiiith cent.

* * Negative photostats of Layamon's *Brut* from B. M. Cotton MS. Caligula A IX, ff. 3-194^v. Bound by Bramhall and Menzies.

957. [R. 85158.] CHESHIRE: WIRRAL HUNDRED.

Paper. 85 ff. 139 × 90 mm. xvii-xviii cent.

* * Presented by G. G. Horsfall, Esq. Notebook containing (ff. 1-30^v) notes, in several hands, of receipts by Richard Johnson, Thomas Crosse, Thomas Kirkes, James Croxton and others from Robert Harvie, Treasurer to the Committee of Sequestration in Wirral Hundred, for miscellaneous payments (December 1646-January 1648/49), including a number for church levies and repairs, sequestered rents, troopers' pay and the maintenance of soldiers in Chester garrison. Blank pages (ff. 31-39, 63^v-85^v) were used in the following century, mainly the 1760's, for miscellaneous farm accounts. Ff. 39^v-63, blank. Former owners: *Thomas Whitehead*, *William Whitehead* (ff. 1, 81^v, 85^v), both in 1754. Contemporary calf binding.

958. [R. 92086.] JOHN FORBES OF CORSE: DIARY, 1624-47.

* * Presented by Mrs. R. E. Morley. Negative photostats of the Diary (1624-47) of John Forbes of Corse (1593-1648; second son of Bishop Patrick Forbes), made from the copy in the Library of the Theological College, Edinburgh, which was transcribed by John Milne, schoolmaster, from the original, now apparently lost, in 1687. With the photostats were

HAND-LIST OF ENGLISH MANUSCRIPTS 205

presented brief notes on the Diary by the late M. Morley, Esq., and correspondence (18 items) concerning the same, mostly relating to Mr. Morley's attempts to trace the original. See G. D. Henderson, "A Scottish Diary of the Seventeenth Century" (ap. *London Quarterly Review*, vol. 151).

959. [R. 83813.] CLAYTON PAPERS: BUSINESS LETTERS.

264 items. Various sizes. xvii-xixth cent.

* * In one box. Miscellaneous business letters, mostly of the 17th century and relating to Sir Robert Clayton (*D.N.B.*) and his partner Alderman John Morris; a number are stamped *Clayton MSS.* Sotheby Sale, March 20, 1940, lots 694-715; the deeds and documents from this collection are now in the Library Charter Room. See above Eng. MS. 943 and below Eng. MS. 986.

960. [R. 83551.] WILLIAM BENN: SERMONS, 1661-62.

Paper. 445 ff. 179 × 114 mm. xviith cent.

* * Presented by E. Johnson, Esq. Copies of sermons delivered between Autumn 1661 and Autumn 1662, at least in six cases and probably in all by the Puritan divine William Ben or Benn (1600-80), Rector of All Hallows, Dorchester; one of the later sermons (on 3 Phil. xxi, ff. 392-403) was copied within five weeks of being preached and the whole volume was completed by 9 October 1662. Subscribed in twelve places (ff. 22, 50, 68, 87^v, 137^v, 305, 333, 379, 391^v, 403, 418, 445^v), with the date of copying, *Per me R.A.*, or *Script. R.A.*, or *Finis R.A.* and, on f. 418, *Finis R. Aleen*, i.e. the divine Richard Allein (1611-81). Slightly imperfect, lacking the first three leaves; original numbering 7-896. Former owner: *Nicholas Belbin*, 1682 (f. 445^v). Bound by Bramhall and Menzies. For Benn and Allein see *D.N.B.* and A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised* (1934).

961. [R. 83986.] JOSEPH GIFFORD: ACCOUNT BOOK.

Paper. 156 ff. 320 × 205 mm. xviii-xixth cent.

* * Account book, imperfect, containing private and business accounts of Joseph Gifford of Taunton, co. Somerset, gentleman. Parchment binding.

962. [R. 88778.] REV. H. E. SHEEN: THE OXFORD MOVEMENT.

Paper. 215 ff. 325 × 200 mm. xxth cent.

* * Presented by the author, Rector of St. John the Evangelist, Miles Platting, Manchester. *The Oxford Movement in a Manchester Parish* [St. John the Evangelist]: *Miles Platting*. Typescript. Bound by Bramhall and Menzies.

963-964. [R. 82848.] SIR HENRY ROSCOE.

Various sizes. 2 vols. xix-xxth cent.

* * A collection of letters addressed to the distinguished chemist Sir Henry Enfield Roscoe (1833-1915) and of miscellaneous papers, printed cuttings and photographs relating to the same, to eminent scientists of his time and to activities in which he was interested, from the 1880's to his death. Correspondents include Robert Wilhelm Bunsen, Richard Meyer, Georg Quincke, (Sir) Ronald Ross, and (Sir) A. W. Ward. For Roscoe see *D.N.B.* and the references there.

965. [R. 88779.] MORAVIAN CHURCH : RICHARD VINEY.

122 ff. c. 190 × 120 mm. xxth cent.

* * Rev. J. N. Libbey bequest. Negative photostats of the Diary of Richard Viney for 1744, from B.M. Add. MS. 44935. Extracts have been published in the *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, vols. 13-15. See also *The British Museum Quarterly*, xi. 181-82 and Ryl. Eng. MS. 1063 below. Bound by Bramhall and Menzies.

966. [R. 89600.] SCOTLAND : PRESBYTERIANISM.

Paper. 88 ff. 160 × 100 mm. Early xviiiith cent.

* * Ff. 2-12^v, *Roll of the Names of the Ministers of the Kirks in Scotland who refused to submit to prelacy, and continued stedfast in owning Presbyterian Government after the Re-establishment of Episcopacy 1661, 1662*; ff. 13-53^v, *An account of those who were Ministers, and Episcopall, or conformed to it, and were legally possessed of Churches in Scotland, 1688, at the Revolution, and what became of them*; ff. 54-80^v, *List of The Parish-Kirks in Scotland, with the names of Several Ministers in Sundry Kirks*; ff. 81^v-83^v, *An Account of the Provincial Synods and Presbyteries in Scotland and the Number of Ministerial Charges in each Synod and Presbyterie*. Ff. 1, 81 and 84-88 blank.

967. [R. 89660.] JOHN BYROM.

Paper. 14 ff. 225 × 172 mm. xxth cent.

* * Presented by H. Hulme, Esq. Notes by the donor, on *John Byrom and his Cheshire Shorthand pupils. John Byrom and the Wesleys at Baguley New Hall*.

968. [R. 89661.] ROSTHERNE, CO. CHESTER : PARISH REGISTERS.

Paper. 303 ff. 330 × 210 mm. c. 1900.

* * Transcripts of the parish registers of Rostherne, co. Chester, made by H. Hulme, Esq., and Joseph Price, Esq., as follows: Baptisms 1595-1736; Weddings, 1595-1607, 1618-52, 1706-36; Burials, 1595-1653, 1706-36; together with Elected Officials, 1630-42.

969. [R. 89703.] BAMFORD : LANCASHIRE GLOSSARY.

Paper. 200 ff. 230 × 83 mm. xixth cent.

* * Presented by G. Whittall, Esq. Holograph manuscript of *A Glossary of Some Words and Phrases In Use Amongst the Rural Population of South Lancashire. Noted down by Samuel Bamford, 1843*, title-page, on the verso of which Bamford notes: *All words in red ink or those marked (r) have been added since Jan. 24th 1852 and are not in the printed edition of 1850*; nor are many of them in the second edition of 1854. Half-leather binding. Inserted is a letter from Edwin Waugh to his father-in-law John Butterworth.

970. [R. 90453.] INDIA : WILLIAM EDWARD RAWLINSON.

Paper. 84 ff. 15 × 105 mm. 1827-34.

* * Presented by F. Buckley, M.A., B.C.L., J.P. Diary (July 1827-Feb. 1834) of William Edward Rawlinson, an officer in the Indian Army serving in Oude. Half-leather binding.

971-85. [R. 91958.] H. HULME : LOCAL HISTORY.

A collection of materials, manuscript and printed, relating, with one exception (Eng. MS. 985 below), to co. Chester; made by H. Hulme, Esq., of Timperley, co. Chester, both under his own name and under the pen-name "Cedric II".

971-81. Manuscript notes, pedigrees, extracts from Directories, photographs and similar miscellaneous materials arranged as follows:—

- | | |
|---|-----------------|
| 971. Alderley Parish. | 976. Lymm. |
| 972. Northenden Parish. | 977. Marton. |
| 973. Cheadle and District. | 978. Mobberley. |
| 974. High Legh. | 979. Rostherne. |
| 975. Knutsford. | 980. Sale. |
| 981. Timperley, with notes on Baguley and Hale. | |

982. H. HULME : CHESHIRE PEDIGREES.

Paper. 31 ff. 123 × 157 mm. xxth cent.

* * * Preceded by an Index.

983. H. HULME : CHESHIRE ANTIQUITIES.

Paper. 86 ff. 202 × 250 mm. xxth cent.

* * * Miscellaneous manuscript notes, cuttings and photographs relating to Cheshire history and antiquities. In one volume.

984. H. HULME : BUCKLOW HUNDRED.

Paper. 53 ff. 250 × 205 mm. xxth cent.

* * * *Cheshire Poll Book, 1727 (Election) : Yeomen and Landowners.*

985. H. HULME : MANCHESTER.

Paper. 20 ff. 250 × 194 mm. xxth cent.

* * * *Manchester About the Period 1860*, being notes on various aspects of Manchester life.

986. [R. 78124.] CLAYTON PAPERS : BUSINESS LETTERS.

36 items. Various sizes. 1656-1731.

* * * In one box. Miscellaneous business letters from the Clayton Papers; the majority relate to Sir Robert Clayton (*D.N.B.*) and his partner Alderman John Morris. G. H. Last Cat. No. 223, Lot 480; the deeds and documents from this collection are now in the Library Charter Room. See also above Eng. MSS. 943, 959.

987. [R. 91968.] REV. W. HUDSON : BREEDON CARTULARY.

Paper. Various sizes. xxth cent.

* * * Presented by Mrs. E. M. Hudson. Collections made by the late Rev. W. Hudson, formerly Vicar of Saddleworth, co. Lanc., for an edition of the Cartulary of Breedon Priory, Leics., namely (a) negative photostats of the Cartulary (Ryl. Latin MS. 222), (b) a manuscript transcript and a typewritten transcript of the same, (c) a card-index of personal and place-names, and (d) miscellaneous notes relating to the Priory.

988. [R. 91969.] REV. W. HUDSON : MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

Various sizes. xxth cent.

* * Presented by Mrs. E. M. Hudson. Miscellaneous historical papers, mostly (a) transcripts of charters relating to Preston, co. Lanc., including a number concerning the leper hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, and (b) notes on Edington, Wilts.

989-1038. [R. 91695.] HIBBERT-WARE PAPERS.

* * Presented by the Rev. G. Hibbert-Ware of Cambridge. A collection of 18th and 19th century letters and papers relating to his family. As follows :—

989. [R. 91695.] HIBBERT-WARE PAPERS : HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES.

Paper. 129 ff. 405 × 164 mm. 1770-95.

* * A volume containing household expenses of Titus Hibbert, merchant, of Manchester, from Jan. 1770 to Nov. 1795 ; i.e. for the period between the death of his wife and his own death. Imperfect, some 25 ff. (June 1770-December 1780) being missing between the present f. 55 and f. 56. At the end (f. 128^v) is the following note : *Titus Hibbert died Nov^r. 27th 1795. MSS. of my father, the late Sam^l. Hibbert-Ware, M.D. of Edinburgh, [signed] Titus Hibbert-Ware, Hale, Cheshire, 1850.* F. 129 contains a *Character of the before mentioned Titus Hibbert compiled from observations made by his grandson, the late Sam^l. Hibbert-Ware of Edinburgh, M.D., to me Titus Hibbert-Ware, written in 1850.* Binding of cloth boards. Book-plate of Samuel Hibbert-Ware. Brief extracts from these accounts are printed in *The Life and Correspondence of the late Samuel Hibbert-Ware* by Mrs. [Mary Clementina] Hibbert-Ware (Manchester, 1882), chap. VI.

990-1022. [R. 91695.] HIBBERT-WARE PAPERS : FAMILY LETTERS AND

PAPERS, 1796-1849. Well over 2,000 letters and papers, the majority relating to Dr. Samuel Hibbert-Ware, M.D. (1782-1848), the geologist and antiquary, for whom see *D.N.B.* ; certain items have been printed by Mrs. Hibbert-Ware, *op. cit.* The collection was originally bound (cloth boards, book-plate of Dr. Hibbert-Ware in each) in thirty-five numbered volumes, but vols. 1 (-1796) and 16 (Jan.-July 1830) are now missing. As follows :—

990. (II). 1796-1804 : 71 items.

991. (III). 1804-09 : 135 items.

992. (IV). 1808-14 [*sic*] :
175 items.

993. (V). 1813-17 : 158 items.

994. (VI). 1817-20 : 137 items.

995. (VII). 1821-22 : 112 items.

996. (VIII). 1823 : 60 items.

997. (IX). 1824 : 72 items.

998. (X). Jan.-July 1825 : 68 items.

999. (XI). Aug.-Dec. 1825 :
60 items.

1000. (XII). Jan.-May 1826 :
35 items.

1001. (XIII). May-Dec. 1826 :
40 items.

1002. (XIV). 1827 : 66 items.

1003. (XV). 1828-29 : 79 items.

1004. (XVII). July-Dec. 1830 :
38 items.

1005. (XVIII). Jan.-June 1831 :
48 items.

1006. (XIX). June-Dec. 1831 :
47 items.

HAND-LIST OF ENGLISH MANUSCRIPTS 209

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|---|---|
| <p>1007. (XX). Jan.-June 1832 :
51 items.</p> <p>1008. (XXI). June-Dec. 1832 :
56 items.</p> <p>1009. (XXII). 1833 : 100 items.</p> <p>1010. (XXIII). Jan.-June 1834 :
58 items.</p> <p>1011. (XXIV). June-Dec. 1834 :
59 items.</p> <p>1012. (XXV). Jan.-April 1835 :
38 items.</p> <p>1013. (XXVI). May-Aug. 1835 :
62 items.</p> <p>1014. (XXVII). Sept.-Dec. 1835 :
35 items.</p> | <p>1015. (XXVIII). Jan.-June 1836 :
39 items.</p> <p>1016. (XXIX). July-Dec. 1836 :
42 items.</p> <p>1017. (XXX). 1837 : 68 items.</p> <p>1018. (XXXI). Jan.-Sept. 1838 :
98 items.</p> <p>1019. (XXXII). Oct. 1838-May
1839 : 45 items.</p> <p>1020. (XXXIII). June-Dec. 1839 :
68 items.</p> <p>1021. (XXXIV). 1840-44 :
92 items.</p> <p>1022. (XXXV). 1845-49 :
93 items.</p> |
|---|---|

1023. [R. 91695.] HIBBERT-WARE PAPERS : COMMONPLACE BOOK.

Paper. 77 ff. Various sizes. 1799-1815.

* * *By Samuel Hibbert, junr., of St. Ann's Square, Manchester, afterwards of Edinburgh, 1799-1815 (front fly-leaf). Binding of cloth boards. Book-plate of Samuel Hibbert-Ware.*

1024. [R. 91695.] HIBBERT-WARE PAPERS : TRADESMEN'S BILLS.

Paper. 216 items. Various sizes. 1802-15.

* * A collection of bills of Lancashire (almost entirely Manchester) tradesmen—wine-merchants, brewers, grocers, chemists, hosiers, shoe-makers, coal dealers, ironmongers, masons, carpenters, plumbers, etc.—for articles purchased by or work done for various members of the Hibbert family between November 1802 and May 1815 ; with three exceptions, nos. 10 and 101 (from Yorkshire tradesmen) and, added later out of order, no. 216 (London). Bound in one volume, cloth boards. Book-plate of Samuel Hibbert-Ware.

1025. [R. 91695.] HIBBERT-WARE PAPERS : WILLIAM HIBBERT.

Paper. 80 items. Various sizes. 1836-c.1838.

* * Notes (historical, medical, meteorological and general) and papers of Dr. William Hibbert, surgeon in the Second Queen's Royals, relating to India, preceded by similar materials on Italy, Malta and Egypt through which he travelled on his way to join his regiment in Bombay Presidency in 1836. In one volume. Book-plate of Samuel Hibbert-Ware. See Mrs. Hibbert-Ware, *op. cit.*, pp. 469-74.

1026. [R. 91695.] HIBBERT-WARE PAPERS : LT.-COL. GEORGE HIBBERT.

Paper. 55 items. Various sizes. 1838-48.

* * Letters and papers, mainly concerned with regimental affairs, of Lieutenant-Colonel George Hibbert (1790-1847), C.B., commanding H.M. 40th Regiment ; they include 10 letters from Titus Hibbert-Ware. In one volume, cloth boards. Book-plate of Samuel Hibbert-Ware.

1027. [R. 91695.] HIBBERT-WARE PAPERS: CAPT. G. H. HIBBERT-WARE.

Paper. 16 items. 254 × 204 mm. xxth cent.

* * Letters (2 Dec. 1854-23 May 1856) from Captain G. H. Hibbert-Ware, serving in the Crimea, to his mother; Nos. 1-14 were written before Sebastopol. Typescript.

1028. [R. 91695.] HIBBERT-WARE PAPERS: IRELAND.

Paper. ix + 14 + iv. 243 × 170 mm. Late xviiith cent.

* * *A Looking Glass for the Reformed Church and State of Ireland, wherein may be Discerned the Effegies of Popery, with all the Traterous Conspiracies of Irish Papists against the Crowne of England for about 200 yeares now Past*, assigned, by a note on f. 1, to Robert Ware, son of Sir James Ware (*D.N.B.*), the Irish antiquary. Half-leather binding, paper boards. Cf. B.M. Add. MS. 33,746 and the references there.

1029. [R. 91695.] HIBBERT-WARE PAPERS: IRELAND.

Paper. 54 ff. 183 × 112 mm. xixth cent.

* * *Copy (by my late Sister Sarah [d. 1839]) of the Diary [July 5, 1836-Sept. 16, 1836] of the late Captⁿ. Edw^d. Jones, 1st R. Lancashire Militia and 29th Foot, of a tour in Ireland along with my late father, Dr. [Samuel] Hibbert-Ware: T[itus] Hibbert-Ware, Hale Barns, Cheshire, 1849.* Calf binding. Book-plate of Samuel Hibbert-Ware. Cf. Mrs. Hibbert-Ware, *op. cit.*, pp. 467-68.

1030. [R. 91965.] HIBBERT-WARE PAPERS: RECIPE BOOK.

Paper. 143 ff. Various sizes. Early xixth cent.

* * In several hands. Book-plate of Samuel Hibbert-Ware.

1031. [R. 91965.] HIBBERT-WARE PAPERS: REBELLION OF 1715.

Paper. 160 ff. Various sizes. xviiiith-xixth cent.

* * *Memoranda and Notes relative to the Rebellion of 1715 by Samuel Hibbert-Ware*; on ff. 155-160 are pasted original depositions of witnesses relating to the demolition of Dissenting Meeting Houses in and near Manchester during the riots. Half-leather binding. Book-plate of Samuel Hibbert-Ware. Cf. Dr. Hibbert-Ware's *Lancashire Memorials of the Rebellion in 1715* (Chetham Society, vol. 15), in which some of the material in this collection is printed.

1032. [R. 91965.] HIBBERT-WARE PAPERS: MEDICAL PAPERS.

Paper. 23 items. Various sizes. xixth cent.

* * Medical notes, papers, letters, etc., brought together mainly by Dr. Samuel Hibbert-Ware. In one volume. Book-plate of Samuel Hibbert-Ware. See W. E. A. Axon, *Cheshire Gleanings*, pp. 219-25; *The Cheshire Sheaf*, iii (1891), 254-55.

1033. [R. 91965.] HIBBERT-WARE PAPERS: RICHARD KAY.

Paper. 118 ff. 264 × 214 and 282 × 224 mm. xixth cent.

* * *The Journal [Ap. 11, 1737-July 19, 1750] of Robert [rectius Richard] Kay [of Bury, co. Lanc.]*. Copy made by Samuel Hibbert-Ware.

HAND-LIST OF ENGLISH MANUSCRIPTS 211

1034. [R. 91966.] HIBBERT-WARE PAPERS : SAMUEL HIBBERT-WARE.

Paper. 105 ff. 265 × 210 mm. sixth cent.

* * Original manuscript of *The Life and Correspondence of the late Samuel Hibbert-Ware*, by Mrs. [Mary Clementina] Hibbert-Ware, published in Manchester, 1882. Imperfect, folios corresponding to pp. 14-31 and, apart from three odd pages, 160-84 only of the printed work surviving.

1035. [R. 91967.] HIBBERT-WARE PAPERS : THOMAS ELLWOOD.

Paper. 58 ff. 270 × 210 mm. sixth cent.

* * Notes on the life and times of the Quaker Thomas Ellwood (1639-1713), by Mary Clementina Hibbert-Ware ; presumably in preparation for her novel *Friend Ellwood* (1884).

1036. [R. 91967.] HIBBERT-WARE PAPERS : LANCASHIRE AND WEST-MORLAND.

Paper. 67 ff. 270 × 210 mm. sixth cent.

* * Historical notes on and descriptions of Lancaster, Kendal, Ambleside, Appleby, Windermere and neighbouring places, by Mary Clementina Hibbert-Ware.

1037. [R. 91695.] HIBBERT-WARE PAPERS : YORKSHIRE.

Paper. 74 ff. 260 × 210 mm. sixth cent.

* * Descriptive notes on various places in Yorkshire, notably York, Knaresborough, Scarborough and Pontefract, by Mary Clementina Hibbert-Ware.

1038. [R. 91695.] HIBBERT-WARE PAPERS : SCOTLAND, ETC.

Paper. 65 ff. Various sizes. c. 1870-80.

* * Descriptive notes on Scotland (ff. 1-41^v, mainly Edinburgh), Cheshire (ff. 42-47^v, Rostherne and Mobberley) and North Wales (ff. 50-end), by Mary Clementina Hibbert Ware.

1039. [R. 90032.] RICHARD ARTHUR AUSTEN-LEIGH.

Vellum. 1 sheet. 510 × 405 mm. April, 1918.

* * Presented by E. Parsons, Esq. Draft of a testimonial (illuminated) to Richard Arthur Austen-Legh by his fellow book-printers. Bound by Bramhall and Menzies.

1040. [R. 92014.] RICHARD HAWKIN : THE LABOUR MOVEMENT.

35 items. Various sizes. c. 1904-22.

* * Presented by Richard Hawkin, Esq., of Darwen, co. Lanc. Correspondence, addressed, with one exception, to Richard Hawkin, relating to the Labour Movement, from Robert Blatchford, Edward Carpenter, James Keir Hardie, H. M. Hyndman, and James Ramsay MacDonald ; the exception (no. 25) being from Carpenter to Miss Uttley. No. 34 is a copy of the Address offered to Carpenter on his seventieth birthday and no. 35 his Reply. See his *My Days and Dreams. Being Autobiographical Notes* (1916), pp. 318-22.

1041-1053. [R. 92013.] NICHOLSON PAPERS.

* * Presented by the Rev. H. McLachlan, M.A., D.D. A collection of letters and papers relating to the family of Nicholson of Liverpool and Manchester. See Ernest Axon (ed.), *Memorials of the Family of Nicholson . . . Collected by Francis Nicholson* (Kendal, 1928), where extracts from items in this collection may be found.

1041-1045. [R. 92013.] NICHOLSON PAPERS: FAMILY LETTERS AND PAPERS.

1508 items. Various sizes. xviii-th-xixth cent.

* * Private and business letters and papers; two only are 17th century, the collection really beginning in 1738, being most full for the period 1804 to 1827 and thinning out for 1828 to 1856. Included are many business letters (19th cent.) from American firms to James Nicholson. Arranged in five boxes, as follows: I [1041]: 1658-1811; II [1042]: 1812-18; III [1043]: 1819-22; IV [1044]: 1823-24; V [1045]: 1825-56.

1046. [R. 92013.] NICHOLSON PAPERS: THOMSON LETTERS.

21 items. Various sizes. 1824-c. 1850.

* * Private letters from various members of the Nicholson family and others to Robert Thomson of Ravensdale, co. Louth, his wife Elizabeth (daughter of Thomas Nicholson) and their daughter Mary. Cf. Axon, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

1047. [R. 92013.] NICHOLSON PAPERS: JAMES NICHOLSON.

Paper. 27 ff. 190 × 120 mm. xviii-th cent.

* * Notebook containing letters (Jan. 27, 1738-Aug. 20, 1739) from Elizabeth Seddon to James Nicholson, later (Oct. 1740) her husband; copied by the latter. Cf. Axon, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

1048. [R. 92013.] NICHOLSON PAPERS: ROBERT NICHOLSON.

Paper. i + 39 + i. 320 × 202 mm. xviii-th cent.

* * Notebook containing copies of private and business letters and papers (1748-69) of Robert Nicholson (d. 1779) of Liverpool, merchant; 3 ff. are missing. For Robert Nicholson see Axon, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-57.

1049. [R. 92013.] NICHOLSON PAPERS: MARY HATFIELD.

Paper. 34 ff. 160 × 96 mm. 1791.

* * Diary of a journey to London made by Mary Hatfield, July 16-Aug. 10, 1791. Ff. 22^v-34, blank. See Axon, *op. cit.*, pp. 92 sqq., where extracts are printed.

1050. [R. 92013.] NICHOLSON PAPERS: JAMES NICHOLSON.

Paper. 61 ff. 142 × 95 mm. 1832-41.

* * Notebook containing travelling expenses (July 1832-Jan. 1841) of James Nicholson (d. 1850) in England, Ireland and France. Parchment binding. For James Nicholson see Axon, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-106.

1051. [R. 92013.] NICHOLSON PAPERS : HATFIELD FAMILY.

3 items. Various sizes. xixth cent.

* * (a) Copy of the last Will and Testament of Jonathan Hatfield (d. 1784) of Leeds, co. York, corn factor. Aug. 18, 1784. (b) Inventory (66 ff.), in Italian, of the effects of Jonathan Hatfield, who died at Naples Feb. 25, 1840; taken on March 12, 1840 by Antonio Mellone, public notary, at the instance of Edward Cotterel, banker of Naples, executor. (c) English translation of the said Inventory. See Axon, *op. cit.*, s.v. Hatfield; Francis Nicholson and Ernest Axon, "The Hatfield Family of Manchester and the Food Riots of 1757 and 1812" (ap. *Trans. Lancs. and Cheshire Antiquarian Soc.*, vol. 28).

1052. [R. 92013.] NICHOLSON PAPERS : GENEALOGY.

Various sizes. xxth cent.

* * Genealogical notes collected by Francis Nicholson (d. 1925), and mainly in his hand, relating to the Nicholson family and its branches in England and Scotland, chiefly in the 17th and 18th centuries. For Francis Nicholson see Axon, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-52, Introduction, pp. vi-vii.

1053. [R. 92013.] NICHOLSON PAPERS : MISCELLANEA.

92 items. Various sizes. xviiiith-xixth cent.

* * One box of miscellaneous papers, verses, recipes, prayers, and sermons in several hands, including that of Elizabeth Thomson (née Nicholson, d. 1883). See Axon, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

1054-1087. [R. 92072.] HISTORY OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH.

* * Rev. J. N. Libbey bequest. A collection of notes and papers, including transcripts from the Herrnhut archives and the archives of the British Province, made by the late Rev. J. N. Libbey, M.A., formerly Principal of Fairfield College, Manchester, relating to the Moravians and to the history of the Moravian Church in England. For other Moravian material in the Library see Eng. MSS. 110, 706, 871, 897-98, 905, 910, 945-50 and 965.

1054-1056. [R. 92072.] MORAVIAN CHURCH : ENGLISH PROVINCIAL CONFERENCES AND SYNODS.

28 items. Various sizes. xviiiith-xxth cent.

* * *Minutes, etc. of Provincial Conferences and Synods of the Moravian Brethren in England*, August 1743-October 1795. With three exceptions, copied from records in the Provincial Archives at Fetter Lane, London, by Rev. J. N. Libbey, who has provided an Index to each; the exceptions, ff. 3-32 of No. 23 (Lindsey House, Chelsea, May 1765), ff. 155-179 of No. 24 (Fulneck, co. York, August 1766), and the whole of No. 28 (Fulneck, Sept.-Oct. 1795), are in 18th century hands. Bound in three volumes: I [1054]: 1743-55; II [1055]: 1756-64; III [1056]: 1765-95.

1057. [R. 92072.] MORAVIAN CHURCH : SYNODS, 1741-1836.

Paper. 10 items. 262 × 206 mm. xxth cent.

* * Copies of and extracts, in English and German, from records at Herrnhut

and in the Provincial Archives, made by Rev. J. N. Libbey. As follows : (a) *Ordinances and Notifications by the Lot at the Synodal Conference held at Red Lion Street, London, September 11-23, 1741* ; (b) *Notes by an English brother* (? J. Hutton) *at the General Synod at Hirschberg, June 30-July 11, 1743* ; (c) *English Affairs at the General Synod at Marienborn, May 12-June 15, 1744, and in the Elders' Conference, June 22, 1744* ; (d) Extracts from proceedings at the General Synod at Herrnhag, May 12-June 14, 1747, relating to Methodism ; (e) *A Short Recapitulation of some Matters of Moment from the Conferences in Lindsey House* [Chelsea], July, August and September, 1753. Two copies ; (f) *Extract of the Report of the Synodal Committee concerning the work of God and particularly of the Congregations in England and Ireland*, Marienborn, 4 and 5 September, 1769. Two copies (English and German) ; (g) *Resolutions of the General Synod held at Marienborn, July-August, 1764* ; (h) *Das Jubel=Jahr der Synoden der Brüder=Unität, 1836, von Johannes Plitt*. In one volume.

1058. [R. 92072.] MORAVIAN CHURCH : SYNODS, 1744-51.

Paper. i + 39 + i. 252 × 202 mm. xxth cent.

* * Extracts by Rev. J. N. Libbey from the Provincial Archives of references to English affairs occurring in records of General Synods (May 1744-Sept. 1751) held at Marienborn and in London during Zinzendorf's lifetime ; the fullest extracts relate to the two London assemblies of September 1746 and June 1750. Ff. 26-39^v, blank.

1059. [R. 92072.] MORAVIAN CHURCH : SYNOD OF 1836.

Paper. i + 122 ff. 180 × 110 mm. xixth cent.

* * *Results of the Synod of the Brethren's Church held at Herrnhut in 1836* (f. 2, title-page), apparently in the hand of Samuel Connor, whose signature occurs on f. 1. Ff. 81-122^v, blank.

1060. [R. 92072.] MORAVIAN CHURCH : JOHN ROKYCANA AND WENZEL KORANDA.

4 items. Various sizes. xxth cent.

* * Copies, made by Joseph Müller of Herrnhut, of (a) *Der Vierter Brief der Brüder an Mag. Rokycana*, July 29, 1468, with a transcription by Rev. J. N. Libbey. For this letter to Rokycana, Archbishop of Prague, see Müller, *Gesch. d. Böhmischen Brüder*, i (1922), 154-57. (b) *Schreiben des Mag. Koranda an Herrn Johann Kostka*, Sept. 27, 1478, with a similar transcription. See Müller, *op. cit.*, i. 172.

1061. [R. 92072.] MORAVIAN CHURCH : P. BÖHLER AND W. NEISSER, 1738.

Paper. 75 ff. 253 × 204 mm. xxth cent.

* * Notebook containing extracts by Rev. J. N. Libbey from the Diaries of (a) ff. 1-45, Peter Böbler, Mar. 2-May 26, 1738 ; (b) ff. 46-65, Wenceslaus Neisser, Jan.-April, 1738 : that is, for the period of their visits to England. Ff. 65^v-75^v, blank.

1062. [R. 92072.] MORAVIAN CHURCH: BENJAMIN INGHAM.

Paper. 47 ff. 222 × 172 mm. xixth-xxth cent.

* * Copy, made by Rev. J. N. Libbey, of a manuscript *Account of Benjamin Ingham and his Work*, by William Batty, with additional notes inserted. For other Inghamite material in the Library see Taylor, *Supplementary Hand-List of Western Manuscripts* (1937), p. 22.

1063. [R. 92072.] MORAVIAN CHURCH: RICHARD VINEY.

81 items. Various sizes. xxth cent.

* * One box containing biographical materials relating to Richard Viney, "the first Englishman formally to join the Moravians", among which are (nos. 11-37) copies of his correspondence (1740-44), including a letter to Zinzendorf (May 29, 1740), two letters to and three letters from Spangenberg (1743) and twelve letters to Br. John Töltzschig (1741-43); (nos. 38-47) copies of correspondence (1742-45) between various brethren, notably Spangenberg, Töltzschig and William Holland, in which Viney is mentioned; (no. 48) relevant extracts from Töltzschig's *Official Diary*, 1743-46; (nos. 49-81) correspondence of Rev. J. N. Libbey with various scholars in England and at Herrnhut relating to Viney and his Diary, a rotograph copy of which is now Ryl. Eng. MS. 965.

1064. [R. 92072.] MORAVIAN CHURCH: WILLIAM HAMMOND.

40 items. Various sizes. xxth cent.

* * One box containing biographical materials relating to William Hammond (1719-83), one of the best-known of Moravian hymn writers, including (no. 13, 5 ff.) an extract from Ockbrook Congregation Diary concerning his visit in March 1758; (no. 25, 8 ff.) an English translation of the *Narrative of the Life of Br. William Hammond, written by himself in Greek*; and (nos. 27-32), copies of six of his letters (1740-46), among which are two to James Hutton, one to Zinzendorf and to John Cennick.

1065. [R. 92072.] MORAVIAN CHURCH: BIOGRAPHICAL MISCELLANEA.

30 items. Various sizes. xviiiith-xxth cent.

* * One box containing biographical notes and papers concerning: (a) Nos. 1-8, Jonathan Agutter (d. 1762); (b) nos. 9-18, Daniel Benham (d. 1873), the Moravian historian; (c) nos. 19-21, John Cennick (d. 1755); (d) nos. 22-28, Leonard Gadow Hassé (d. 1906); and (e) nos. 29-30, Herman Krueger, author of *Gottfried Kaempfer*.

1066. [R. 92072.] MORAVIAN CHURCH: MINISTERS, ETC.

Paper. 28 ff. + 29 items. 206 × 165 mm. xxth cent.

* * Notebook containing an *Index of Ministers, etc. of the Moravian Church in Great Britain and Ireland, 1740-1900*, compiled by Rev. J. N. Libbey, with brief biographical notes. Includes "Tutors in the Provincial College, English Teachers in Moravian Schools who went into Foreign Mission Service, Provincial Secretaries, Mission and Financial, and Wardens, also Assistant-Preachers and Choir Labourers and Permanent Teachers in

Schools" (f. 1). Arranged in alphabetical order of names. With 29 additional items inserted at the end containing a similar list, arranged in alphabetical order of places.

1067. [R. 92072.] MORAVIAN CHURCH: ENGLISH LABOURERS, 1764-1912.

Paper. 228 ff. 253 × 202 mm. xxth cent.

* * *The English Province and English Labourers in the Weekly Leaves*, Nov. 6, 1764-Nov. 30, 1912; a chronological list compiled by Rev. J. N. Libbey. In three notebooks: (i) Nov. 6, 1764-Aug. 3, 1805; (ii) Aug. 18, 1805-Aug. 9, 1855; (iii) Aug. 9, 1856-Nov. 30, 1912. With some additional notes inserted.

1068. [R. 92072.] MORAVIAN CHURCH: ENGLISH MORAVIAN WORKERS, 18TH-19TH CENT.

Various sizes. xxth cent.

* * One box containing alphabetical lists of and biographical notes on Men and Women Workers in Moravian Service in England who died before Dec. 31, 1900. Compiled by Rev. J. N. Libbey.

1069. [R. 92072.] MORAVIAN CHURCH: SOCIETIES AND CONGREGATIONS.

Various sizes. xixth-xxth cent.

* * Two boxes containing miscellaneous historical notes and papers, with correspondence relating to the same, concerning:—I: (a) the Society established at 32 Fetter Lane, London, and (b) Moravian sites in London; II: (c) the Congregation at Leominster, (d) 18th century Moravians in North Wales (notably David Mathias, William Griffith and James Beaumont) and (e) the Moravian Church in Dublin.

1070. [R. 92072.] MORAVIAN CHURCH: EDUCATION.

Various sizes. xxth cent.

* * Miscellaneous notes and papers (manuscript and printed), with correspondence relating to the same, concerning Moravian schools in England: (a) Broadoaks, Essex, (b) Drax, co. York, (c) Fairfield, co. Lanc. (d) Fulneck, co. York. With a MS. article by Rev. J. N. Libbey, *The Moravian Contribution to Education in England* (25 ff.).

1071. [R. 92072.] MORAVIAN CHURCH: FINANCE.

Paper. 49 ff. + 27 items. Various sizes. xixth-xxth cent.

* * Notebook of Rev. John Daniel Libbey containing notes on matters of church finance and property, including copies of documents relating to Well House Chapel and School (ff. 1-12), of letters respecting Plymouth and Rev. William Elliott (ff. 14^v-23), of synodalia (ff. 26-42^v) and of statements of the accounts of the British Province for 1846 (ff. 25-26) and 1861 (ff. 46-47). Inserted at the end are additional notes and papers (27) in the hands of Rev. J. D. Libbey and Rev. J. N. Libbey respecting congregation diaconies.

1072. [R. 92072.] MORAVIAN CHURCH: COUNT LYNAR.

Paper. i ÷ 92. 200 × 161 mm. 1796.

* * *Account of the Rise and Progress, and especially of the present Constitution of the Brethren's Unity* [by Heinrich Casimir Gottlieb, Graf zu Lynar], with a preface of Dr. Anton Frederic Büsching, President of the Royal Prussian Consistory at Berlin. Translated from the German [2nd impression, Halle, 1781] for the private use of J. H^v.S. at Hurfrdw. [i.e. Haverfordwest]: 1796 (f. 1, title-page). Ff. 67^v-92, blank. Half-leather binding, green cloth boards. Former owner: J[ohn] D[aniel] Libbey.

1073. [R. 92072.] MORAVIAN CHURCH: HEADQUARTERS' DIARY, 1747-49.

Paper. 211 ff. 228 × 178 mm. xxth cent.

* * English translation, in the hand of Rev. J. N. Libbey, of the Moravian Headquarters' Diary for Jan. 1, 1747-July 5, 1749 (Weeks 1-27). In two large notebooks. Ff. 180^v-212, blank. See also Eng. MSS. 945-50 above.

1074. [R. 92072.] MORAVIAN CHURCH: GENERAL HISTORY.

Various sizes. xixth cent.

* * Miscellaneous notes and papers of Rev. J. N. Libbey, relating to Moravian history, institutions, theology and ritual.

1075. [R. 92072.] MORAVIAN CHURCH: GENERAL HISTORY.

Paper. 568 ff. 222 × 141 mm. xxth cent.

* * *History of the Unitas Fratrum*, by J. N. Libbey. Ends, imperf. (f. 568), with the early 17th century. In four large notebooks.

1076-77. [R. 92072.] MORAVIAN CHURCH: HISTORY OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH IN ENGLAND, 1728-75.

* * Contemporary papers, transcribed or translated by Rev. J. N. Libbey from records mainly in the Herrnhut and British Provincial Archives, concerning the history of the Moravian Church in England. Divided into two periods, as follows:—

1076. MORAVIAN CHURCH: HISTORY OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH IN ENGLAND, 1728-50.

Paper. 33 items. 266 × 210 mm. xxth cent.

* * *Contemporary Papers, or Papers by Contemporary Moravians, relating to the Moravian Church in England (other than those printed in Benham's "Life of J. Hutton" and not including Memoirs): First Period, 1728-1750*, in two groupings: (a) *London and General* (nos. 1-20), including *Acta der drei Brüder David Nitschmann, Wenceslaus Neisser und Johann Töltschig ihre Deputation nach England betreffend, 1728* (no. 1); James Hutton's accounts of Moravian work in England down to 1741 (nos. 2 and 3, English and German) and 1747 (no. 4) and his *Note on the Preaching of the Gospel in England, Ireland and Scotland*, c. 1746-47 (no. 5); Holland's *Account of the Beginning of the Brethren's Work in England, 1732-45* (no. 6); *Rules and Orders of the Fetter Lane Society* (from a Herrnhut MS. apparently older in form than that printed by Benham) (no. 8); *Rules for the Society for the*

Furtherance of the Gospel, 1742 (no. 9); Viney's account of the School at Broadoaks, co. Essex, 1742 (no. 10); Zinzendorf's *Declaration concerning the Brethren's Church . . . in England*, July 21, 1744 (no. 14); *Ingham's Agreement with the Brethren*, 1742-43 (no. 15); and Böhler's *Report on the Moravian Work in England*, 1745 (no. 16). (b) *English Districts other than London* (nos. 21-33), comprising copies of contemporary papers relating to work in Yorkshire, 1742-44 (nos. 21-26), Wiltshire, 1740-47 (no. 27), Dublin, 1745-48 (no. 28), Haverfordwest, 1746 (no. 29), Wales, 1747 (nos. 30, 31), Lerwick, 1739 (no. 32) and Edinburgh, 1743-44 (no. 33).

1077. [R. 92072.] MORAVIAN CHURCH: HISTORY OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH IN ENGLAND, 1751-75.

Paper. 9 items. 260 × 210 mm. xxth cent.

* * *Contemporary Papers relating to the Moravian Church in England: Second Period, 1751-55*, namely, Watteville's Report on his Visitation in England and Ireland, 1759 (no. 1); papers relating to Ireland, 1751 and 1763 (nos. 2, 3), and Haverfordwest, 1763 (no. 4); Erich von Ranrau's *Kurze Nachrichten von den ersten Veranlassungen, Anfängen und Einrichtungen der Brüder-Gemeinen in England* (no. 5); John Plitt's, *Die Brüder-Gemeinen in England . . . seit 1728* (no. 6), with an English translation (no. 7); and extracts from John Caldwell's Diary of his tours in the West of England, 1768 (no. 8). No. 9 comprises miscellaneous notes and letters of the Rev. J. N. Libbey relating to these *Contemporary Papers*.

1078. [R. 92072.] MORAVIAN CHURCH: COLLECTANEA, 1802-56.

Paper. 27 items. Various sizes. ninth-xxth cent.

* * A collection, bound in one volume, of twenty-seven miscellaneous papers, manuscript (in various hands) and printed, relating to the Moravian Church in England, 1802-56. Included are a copy of the Minutes of the Provincial Conference held at Fairfield, 1824 (no. 14) and abstracts of the Minutes of similar Conferences held at Fulneck, co. York, 1835 (no. 20) and Fairfield, 1847 (no. 24).

1079. [R. 92072.] MORAVIAN CHURCH: MISCELLANEA.

Paper. 8 items. Various sizes. xviii-th-xixth cent.

* * One box containing miscellaneous manuscript papers, including a Report, in German, on Moravian Work and Workers (imperf.), c. 1746 (2 ff.); *Br. Fred. Watteville's Discourse kept in Herrenhuth, Aug^t 13th, 1761, he being an Eye-Witness of the Baptism of Spirit which was poured out upon our Church on this day in the Year 1727* (2 ff.); *Mirfield Congregation: Instructions to be communicated . . . to Brethren and Sisters who have applied for Reception into the Congregation of the United Brethren. . . . Compiled by the Brⁿ. W^m. Foster and Lewis West, 1798-99* (18 ff.); *An Abridgement of the Rules and Orders of the Brethren's Congregations*, 19th century (12 ff.); *The Statutes of the Protestant Church of the United Brethren, as again confirmed at the last Synod, 1801* (14 ff.); and *A Brief View of the Constitution, Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of the United Brethren* [by J. K. Martyn], c. 1819 (16 ff.).

HAND-LIST OF ENGLISH MANUSCRIPTS 219

1080. [R. 92072.] MORAVIAN CHURCH : AMERICA.

21 items. Various sizes. xxth cent.

* * Historical and biographical notes and papers relating to (a) Nos. 1-3, John Jacob Fries, Minister at Bethabara, North Carolina, including a copy of his Diary for April 27-July 31, 1754, in the form of a letter to Br. Gottlob Königsdorffer at Lindsey House, London, and (b) Nos. 4-21, Benjamin Mortimer (teacher at Nazareth Hall, Pennsylvania, 1791-98; missionary among the Indians, 1798-1812; appointed Pastor of the First Moravian Church, New York, 1812) and the Mortimer family.

1081. [R. 92072.] MORAVIAN CHURCH : PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES.

18 items. Various sizes. c. 1903-06.

* * List of and notes on *Original Records of the Brethren's Church in Ireland and Scotland . . . Preserved in the Archives of the Several Congregations. Supplied by the Ministers in Charge*. Also included are brief lists for Malmesbury (no. 16) and Ockbrook, co. Derby (no. 17) and a general note on Provincial Archives.

1082. [R. 92072.] MORAVIAN CHURCH : HYMNS, 1741-1876.

Paper. i + 192 + i. 204 × 130 mm. xxth cent.

* * Lists, with authors and translators, of contents of Moravian hymn-books for 1741 (ff. 1-2^v), 1742 (ff. 3-4^v), 1743, Appendix (ff. 5-5^v), 1746, Part II (ff. 6-8^v), 1748, Part III (ff. 9-10^v), 1749, Additions (f. 11), 1752 (ff. 11^v-12), 1754, Part I (ff. 13-20), 1754, Part II (ff. 20-27^v), 1769 (ff. 28-31), 1789 (ff. 32-41^v), 1801, Additions (ff. 42-43^v), 1808, Supplement (ff. 44-45^v), 1826 (ff. 46-46^v), 1849, Additions (ff. 47-48), and 1876, Supplement (ff. 48^v-49), compiled by Rev. J. N. Libbey. Ff. 49^v-192, blank.

1083. [R. 92072.] MORAVIAN CHURCH : HYMNS, 1886.

Paper. ii + 115. 264 × 204 mm. c. 1901.

* * *Notes on the Contents of the Moravian Hymnbook, Edition 1886* (ff. 1-100), with an *Analytical Index of Hymn Writers* (ff. 104-15), by Rev. J. N. Libbey.

1084. [R. 92072.] MORAVIAN CHURCH : HYMNS, 1911, 1940.

Paper. 90 ff. + 10. 266 × 207 mm. xxth cent.

* * *Notes on the Contents of the Moravian Hymn-book, Edition 1911* (ff. 1-61), with an *Index to the Originals of Translated Hymns* (ff. 72-77^v), *Table of Numbers* (f. 78^v), and *Historical Index of Hymn Writers* (ff. 79-87), compiled by Rev. J. N. Libbey. Inserted at the end are ten additional folios containing notes for the Supplement of 1940.

1085. [R. 92072.] MORAVIAN CHURCH : LITURGY AND HYMNS.

Various sizes. xixth-xxth cent.

* * Miscellaneous liturgical and hymnological notes and papers collected by Rev. J. N. Libbey.

1086. [R. 92072.] MORAVIAN CHURCH: HYMN WRITERS.

128 pp. + 39 items. Various sizes. xth cent.

* * Copy of *Biographical Notices of Hymn Writers*, by F. P[urser] reprinted (Belfast, 1901) from "The Moravian Messenger", with marginal manuscript additions. Inserted are 39 letters and papers of Rev. J. N. Libbey giving further biographical details of Moravian hymn writers.

1087. [R. 92072.] MORAVIAN CHURCH: LIBBEY CORRESPONDENCE.

115 items. Various sizes. 1900-41.

* * Correspondence of Rev. J. N. Libbey, Jan. 1900-May 1941, mainly with English, German and American scholars on points of Moravian history; in several cases copies of his replies are included.

1088. [R. 92070.] INDIA: WEDANAYAGA SASTRY.

Paper. i + 36 + i. 191 × 120 mm. sixth cent.

* * Copy of certificates and testimonials, 1808-28, by missionaries, officials and congregations in India given to Wedanayaga Sastry, "evangelical poet". In Tamil (ff. 27-36^v), preceded by an English translation (ff. 1-26). Former owner: *W. H. Black* (inner front cover), who purchased it from Quaritch in 1852.

1089. [R. 84487.] STANLEY PAPERS: ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY.

83 items. Various sizes. c. 1824-28.

* * Letters of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, later Dean of Westminster, written mainly from Seaforth (the private school to which he went in Sept. 1824 and from which, in Jan. 1829, he passed to Rugby), to his mother Catherine Stanley (13), his sister Mary (66) and his brothers Owen (2) and Charles (2). Extracts are printed in Prothero, *The Life and Correspondence of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley*, i (1892), 11-23, 33-36 *passim*.

1090. [R. 84486.] STANLEY PAPERS: ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY.

Paper. 92 ff. 136 × 86 mm. 1828.

* * Boyhood diary of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, later Dean of Westminster, of a tour in the Pyrenees, July 17-Sept. 14, 1828. In two notebooks: I. July 17-Aug. 10; II. Aug. 11-Sept. 14. Slightly imperfect, lacking 1 f. at the end. Extracts are printed in Prothero, *op. cit.*, i, 23-33.

1091. [R. 92636.] SIR THOMAS CHOLMONDELEY, SHERIFF OF CHESHIRE.

Paper. 193 ff. 293 × 182 mm. xviii cent.

* * *The booke of all the proceedings of all busines this yeare, 1637* [sic], by Thomas Cholmondeley, Esquier, Highe Sheriffe of the Countie of Chester, who tooke his oathe the xiiith day of October 1637 (f. 1), being a letterbook containing copies of (a) ff. 1-37, documents relating to his collection of Ship Money in the county, Sept. 1637-Dec. 1638, including orders, warrants, an exhortation to the High Constables, correspondence with the Privy Council and with the Mayor and Aldermen of Chester, lists of collectors, petitions and assessments; (b) ff. 41-44, the commission (of which he was a member) and warrants,

July-Aug. 1641, respecting the *Acte for the speedie provision of money for disbandinge the armies and settlinge the peace of the two kingdomes of England and Scotland*; (c) ff. 185-91^v, *The severall Letters from the Kinges Council to the High Sherife* [i.e. Cholmondeley] *and withall the seaverall somes of money and the receipts thereof*, 1660-61, in connexion with the *Acte for the speedie provision of money for disbandinge and payeing of the forces of this Kingdome*; (d) f. 185^v, an account of money received from the Hundreds of Nantwich, Broxton, Eddisbury and Wirral *by mee, one of the Tresurars for the Militia . . . for the fourth parte of one moneths assessment, to witt for the yeares 1666, 1667*. Ff. 38-40, 45-184, 192 are blank. Inserted is a draft, in Cholmondeley's hand, of a letter addressed by him to the Privy Council, of which the copy is given on f. 189^v. Parchment binding, on which is the title *Naugium 1637*. *Tho. Chomley 1625* is written on the inner back-cover and *Thomas Cholmondeley, 1661* on f. 193^v. Item 297 in Cat. 100 of H. M. Fletcher of Enfield, Middlesex, who states that it came from Vale Royal, Cheshire.

- 1092-95. [R. 84307.] STANLEY CORRESPONDENCE. Letters, family and miscellaneous, addressed to Edward Lyulph Stanley, 4th Lord Stanley of Alderley and 4th Lord Sheffield, (1839-1925), between 1853 and 1874. For Stanley see *D.N.B.*

1092. [R. 84307.] STANLEY CORRESPONDENCE.

228 items. Various sizes. 1853-74.

* * Letters written to Edward Lyulph Stanley from (a) Nos. 1-6 (Feb.-March, 1855), his father Edward John, 2nd Lord Stanley of Alderley (1802-69), for whom see *D.N.B.*; (b) nos. 7-228 (1853-57, 1871-74), his mother Henrietta Maria, Lady Stanley of Alderley (1807-95), for whom see *D.N.B.* Companion-pieces to some of the earlier items will be found in Nancy Mitford, *The Stanleys of Alderley: their letters between the years 1851-1865* (1939).

1093. [R. 84307.] STANLEY CORRESPONDENCE.

87 items. Various sizes. 1853-c.1872.

* * Family and personal letters, addressed, with one exception, to Edward Lyulph Stanley. Nos. 1-16, 25-77 are from his brothers and sisters (the Hon. Maude Stanley (nos. 25-57) and the Hon. John Constantine Stanley (nos. 62-77) being responsible for most of them) and nos. 17-24 from his aunt Louisa Dorothea Stanley. The exception (no. 87) is a three-page letter, describing the fighting, written from the "Camp at Balaklava, Sept. 28[1854]" by Augustus Lane Fox (later Lt.-Gen. Augustus Lane Fox-Pitt-Rivers) to his wife Alice, sister of Edward Lyulph Stanley.

1094. [R. 84307.] STANLEY CORRESPONDENCE.

17 items. Various sizes. Jan. 1871-Jan. 1873.

* * Letters on various subjects addressed to Edward Lyulph Stanley from the American authoress Sarah Anne Ellis Dorsey (1829-79), for whom see *Dict. American Biography*, v. 386.

1095. [R. 84307.] STANLEY CORRESPONDENCE.

56 items. Various sizes. 1863-72.

* * Miscellaneous correspondence of Edward Lyulph Stanley. With the exception of nos. 1 and 2 (drafts in his hand, Feb. and July 1863), consists of letters on various subjects addressed to him between Jan. 1871 and Dec. 1872. Nos. 6-7 are from Frederic Harrison (*D.N.B.*), nos. 12-13 from Benjamin Jowett (*D.N.B.*), no. 16 from David Binning Monro (*D.N.B.*), nos. 24-27 from Sir Robert Samuel Wright (*D.N.B.*), and nos. 29-56 concern the Working Class Movement in Oldham, May-Dec. 1872.

1096. [R. 84307.] STANLEY FAMILY : HOUSEHOLD ACCOUNT BOOK.

Paper. 42 ff. 200 × 163 mm. 1784-85.

* * Title (front fly-leaf) : *An Acc^t. of what is laid out in House Keeping*, [21] February 1784 [-17 April, 1785], above which another hand has added *Ratcliffes House Accounts, 1784-85*. Ff. 22^v-42^v, blank. Acquired with Eng. MSS. 1092-95 above.

1097. [R. 84307.] SIR JOHN THOMAS STANLEY.

Paper. 6 ff. 326 × 22 mm. 1781-85.

* * Ff. 1-4, *Rental of the estates of Sir John Thomas Stanley, Bar^t., in the County and City of Chester for 1781, ending Lady day 1782*, followed by (ff. 4^v-6) accounts of Joseph Cooke relating to the same, settled April 23, 1795. Acquired with Eng. MSS. 1092-96 above.

1098. [91712.] GAELIC SONGS.

Paper. 32 ff. 163 × 98 mm. sixth cent.

* * Gaelic songs, with English translations, *reproduced in pronunciation exactly as I heard them*, by J. H. (apparently James Hardiman (1790 ?-1855), for whom see *D.N.B.*). Former owner : f. 1, *Séamus ó Casaide, 1939* (the Celtologist and bibliographer, with whose Library this MS. was acquired).

1099. [R. 93024.] JOSEPH GOUGE GREENWOOD.

Vellum and paper. ix + 19 + ii. 260 × 210 mm. 1890.

* * Presented by Miss Emily Greenwood. Illuminated address presented to Joseph Gouge Greenwood, LL.D., Professor and Principal of Owens College, Manchester, for thirty-eight years, by Associates of the College, Nov. 1890, with signatures. For Joseph Gouge Greenwood see *D.N.B.*, *Suppl.* (1909).

1100. [R. 89694-95.] MANOR OF KIRKBY IRELETH, CO. LANC.

Paper. 103 ff. c. 320 × 200 mm. 1757-1821.

* * Presented by Edward Walker, Esq. Presentment Book of the Manor of Kirkby Ireleth, co. Lanc., May 3, 1757-June 19, 1821.

1101-1110. [R. 93406.] WEDGWOOD CORRESPONDENCE. Ten volumes containing copies, made from the originals in the middle of last century, of private and business correspondence (1758-1804) of the Wedgwood family, and notably of Josiah Wedgwood, sen. (d. 1795); notes on the front fly-leaves indicate that these volumes were consulted by Dr. Samuel Smiles (for whom see *D.N.B.*) between Oct. 1892 and Jan. 1893, presumably while collecting material for his biography of Wedgwood (1894).

HAND-LIST OF ENGLISH MANUSCRIPTS 223

Cf. also the biographies of Eliza Meteyard (2 vols., 1865-66) and Frances Julia Wedgwood (1915). As follows :—

1101-1108. WEDGWOOD CORRESPONDENCE, 1758-79.

Paper. 1336 ff. 310 × 245 mm. sixth cent.

* * * Copies of letters mainly from Josiah Wedgwood, sen., to his friend and (from Nov. 1768) partner Thomas Bentley (d. 1780). Arranged in eight volumes : (i) 1101, 1758-65, (ii) 1102, 1766-67, (iii) 1103, 1768, (iv) 1104, 1769, (v) 1105, 1770, Jan. 24, 1771, (vi) 1106, Jan. 29, 1771-77, (vii) 1107, 1778 (viii), 1108, 1779. Former owner : Joseph Mayer (1803-86), for whom see *D.N.B.* Half-calf binding.

1109. WEDGWOOD CORRESPONDENCE, 1781-1800.

Paper. 237 ff. 310 × 245 mm. sixth cent.

* * * Copies of (a) ff. 1-219, letters, business and private, from Josiah Wedgwood, sen., to various correspondents, 1781-94 ; (b) ff. 220-32, seven letters (1799-1800) from James Watt and James Watt, jun., to Josiah Wedgwood, jun. Ff. 232^v-237, blank. Former owner : Joseph Mayer (1803-86), for whom see *D.N.B.* Half-calf binding.

1110. WEDGWOOD CORRESPONDENCE, 1781-1804.

Paper. 82 ff. 310 × 245 mm. sixth cent.

* * * Copies of (a) ff. 5-69, letters from various correspondents (including Garrick, Reynolds, Arkwright, Erasmus Darwin, John Flaxman, Benjamin Franklin and Anna Seward), to Josiah Wedgwood, sen. (1781-94), with some replies of the latter ; (b) ff. 70-81, letters to Josiah Wedgwood, jun., and Thomas Wedgwood from various correspondents (1799-1804). Ff. 1-4 contain a lengthy note, dated July 30, 1867, by Wedgwood's biographer, Eliza Meteyard, dealing with the provenance of the originals of these letters, formerly in the possession of Miss Louisa Goddard, but later scattered. Former owner : Joseph Mayer (1803-86), for whom see *D.N.B.* Half-calf binding.

1111. [R. 93407.] THEATRICAL CALENDAR.

Paper. 34 ff. 180 × 112 mm. 1740-42.

* * * Contemporary note-book containing (a) ff. 1-14, *Course of Plays, 1740* [Season], a calendar of plays performed at Covent Garden, Sept. 19, 1740-May 15, 1741 ; (b) ff. 16-26, *Course of Plays, 1741* [Season], a similar calendar for the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, Sept. 5, 1741-May 31, 1742 ; with marginal annotations in the same hand respecting actors (including Pegg Woffington, whose Covent Garden *début* is entered, Nov. 6, 1740 ; Colley Cibber ; Garrick ; Mrs. Clive), benefits (over sixty are recorded), visits of the royal family and miscellaneous information regarding the plays. Ff. 15-15^v contain a list of the Company for the 1741 Season and f. 27 a note of money *Recev'd of Ch^s. Fletewood* [the Drury Lane manager] *at times since the House shut up*, i.e. on June 11, July 13 and Aug. 12, 1742. Ff. 27^v-34, blank. Former owner : Joseph Mayer (1803-86), for whom see *D.N.B.* Calf binding. See *Johnsonian News Letter*, vol. viii (1948), where attention is drawn to this manuscript.

1112. [R. 93408.] DARIUS, KING OF PERSIA.

Paper. 108 ff. 310 × 185 mm. xviiith cent.

* * *Darius, King of Persia, a Tragedy*, in five Acts. Beg. [*Darius* :] *Unhappy Mortals ! to what various ills To what unseen, what unexperienc'd* [sic] *Sorrow / Each coming Day gives Birth*. Former owner : Joseph Mayer (1803-86), for whom see *D.N.B.* Half-calf binding.

1113. [R. 93409.] LT. HENRY SMITH : MEDITERRANEAN JOURNAL.

Paper. 138 ff. 204 × 165 mm. 1819-20.

* * *Journal* [Jan. 1819-March 1820] of *Lieu^t. H[enry] Smith, R.M.*, in the *Mediterranean* [on board *H.M.S. Rochfort*, which he joined on Sept. 25, 1818]. At the end is inserted a letter of May 5, 1850 from Lt. Smith to his brother Charles Roach Smith (1807-90), the antiquary (*D.N.B.*), to whom this Journal was presented on Aug. 6, 1829 (front fly-leaf). Former owner : Joseph Mayer (1803-86), for whom see *D.N.B.*

1114. [R. 93410.] THOMAS REAY.

Paper. 31 ff. 230 × 180 mm. 1832-33.

* * *Reminiscences or Rambling Recollections of Men and Manners*, by Thomas Reay of Liverpool. Dedicated and presented to Joseph Mayer (1803-86), for whom see *D.N.B.* Half-calf binding.

1115. [R. 93411.] THOMAS DODD : CATALOGUE OF ENGRAVERS.

Paper. 324 ff. 300 × 228 mm. 1800.

* * A catalogue of European engravers to the end of the 18th century by the printseller Thomas Dodd (1771-1850), for whom see *D.N.B.* Arranged in alphabetical order of names and giving, in tabular form, the country of birth, period and place of practice, mode of exercise, class of production, marks used, date of death and age. Other collections by Dodd relating to engravers and engraving are now among the Additional MSS. at the British Museum. Former owner : Joseph Mayer (1803-86), for whom see *D.N.B.*, at whose residence in Liverpool Dodd died. Binding of red morocco, gilt, stamped : *T. Dodd, No. 20, Tavistock St., Covent Garden*. See below Eng. MS. 1116.

1116. [R. 93412.] THOMAS DODD : CATALOGUE OF ENGRAVINGS.

Paper. 195 ff. 282 × 220 mm. sixth cent.

* * A catalogue of French engraved portraits arranged under names of engravers (16th-18th century, but mainly 17th and 18th century), with indexes of names of engravers (ff. 1, 3^v-4) and of portraits (ff. 169-94). Former owner : Joseph Mayer (1803-86), for whom see *D.N.B.* Half-calf binding. See above Eng. MS. 1115.¹

¹ With Eng. MSS. 1115 and 1116 were acquired *An Essay on the Utility of Collecting the Best Works of the Ancient Engravers of the Italian School ; accompanied by a Critical Catalogue*, by George Cumberland (London, 1827), which contains many marginal criticisms and comments in Dodd's hand, and an interleaved copy of pp. 771-836 (Jacomo Francia and Marc' Antonio Raimondi)

1117. [R. 93413.] THE PERCY SOCIETY.

Paper. ii + 95 + ii. 228 × 180 mm. 1844-45.

* * *Minute Book*, No. 2 of the Percy Society for the Publication of Ancient Ballads, Poetry and Popular Literature, containing records of Council meetings between May 27, 1844 and Sept. 4, 1845; the Chairmen signing are Lord Braybrooke, Thomas Amyot, J. Payne Collier, William Henry Black, T. J. Pettigrew and J. Henry Dixon. Ff. 21^v-95, blank. Parchment binding. This Society, founded in 1840, was dissolved in 1852.

1118. [R. 93414.] DANIEL OSBORNE: ANECDOTES.

Paper. 1190 pp. 330 × 210 mm. 1800.

* * In two volumes with an Index. Former owner: Joseph Mayer (1803-86), for whom see *D.N.B.* Half-leather binding of red morocco.

1119. [R. 93415.] JOSEPH MAYER: VERSES.

Paper. i + 132 + i. 230 × 180 mm. sixteenth cent.

* * Verses on various subjects written in England, France and Switzerland, June 1823 and March 1835. For Mayer (1803-86) see *D.N.B.* Half-morocco binding, gilt.

1120. [R. 93562.] THOMAS CREWE DOD: JOURNAL.

Paper. 20 ff. 183 × 122 mm. 1784-85.

* * Presented by Messrs. Gardner and Sons, solicitors, of Rugeley, co. Stafford, through Miss L. Margaret Midgley, Librarian, The William Salt Library, Stafford. Journal (Aug. 3, 1784-April 28, 1785) of Thomas Crewe Dod (1754-1827) of Edge, Cheshire. Bound by Bramhall and Menzies. Accompanying the Journal is an account of Edge and Edge Hall, the seat of the Dods, with a pedigree of the family.

1121. [R. 93573.] REV. HENRY RAIKES: CORRESPONDENCE.

180 items. Various sizes. sixteenth cent.

* * A collection of letters from various correspondents to Rev. Henry Raikes (1782-1854), Chancellor of the Diocese of Chester from 1830 to 1854, for whom see *D.N.B.*

1122-26. [R. 93692.] DOROTHY RICHARDSON: JOURNALS.

Paper. 5 vols. c. 160 × 110 mm. 1761-1802.

* * Holograph accounts, with numerous historical, topographical and antiquarian descriptions interspersed, of journeys and tours made by Dorothy Richardson, daughter of the Rev. Henry Richardson (1710-78), Rector of Thornton in Craven, Yorkshire (W.R.), in various parts of England in the

of Ottley's, *An Inquiry into the Origin and Early History of Engraving*, vol. 2 (London, 1816), with manuscript notes, particularly on Raimondi, by Dodd and the book-collector Sir Mark Masterman Sykes (1771-1823), for whom see *D.N.B.*

company of members of her family, between 1761 and 1802. As follows : I (1122), 1761-75. Yorkshire (W.R.), Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire and Lancashire, 358 pp. ; II (1123), 1770. Oxford and Bath, 410 pp. ; III (1124), 1775 and 1785. London, 346 pp. ; IV (1125), 1779. Yorkshire (N.R.) and Lancashire, 289 pp. ; V (1126), 1801-02. Yorkshire (E.R.), 322 pp. (of which 271-321 are blank). Each volume is signed on a front fly-leaf : *Doro : Richardson*, and underneath, in each case, in a 19th century hand, is the signature *Eleanor Roundell* (Dorothy Richardson's sister Mary married the Rev. William Roundell, who succeeded his father-in-law as Rector of Thornton in Craven). Quarter vellum bindings.

1127-28. [R. 93692.] DOROTHY RICHARDSON : ANTIQUARIAN NOTES.

Paper. 2 vols. 150-160 × 110 mm. Late xviiith cent.

* * Miscellaneous antiquarian notes (historical, ecclesiastical, architectural, heraldic) ; a number of pen-and-ink drawings are included. In two vols., both in the hand of Dorothy Richardson, as follows : I (1127), 253 pp. (196-253, blank). Front fly-leaf : *Doro. Richardson, 1789*, underneath which, in a 19th century hand, is *Eleanor Roundell* ; II (1128), 275 pp. (76-275, blank). Inner front cover : *Eleanor Roundell*. Quarter vellum bindings. See above Eng. MSS. 1122-26.

1129. [R. 93692.] DOROTHY RICHARDSON : MEMOIRS OF SIR HENRY SLINGSBY.

Paper. 286 pp. 160 × 110 mm. 1790.

* * P. 1, *Memoirs [1638-48] of S^r. Henry Slingsby, Bar^t., written by himself. Copied from a MS., by Doro. Richardson* ; p. 203, Appendix to the same ; p. 209, Index to the same ; p. 231, *Slingsby Chapel in the Church at Knaresbro* ; pp. 240-86, blank. Front fly-leaf : *Doro : Richardson, 1790*, underneath which, in a 19th century hand, is *Eleanor Roundell* (see above Eng. MSS. 1122-26). Quarter vellum binding. For the royalist Sir Henry Slingsby (1602-58) see *D.N.B.* His Memoirs, valuable as a source for the Civil War in Yorkshire and the North of England, were first published in an abbreviated form by Sir Walter Scott in 1806 and re-edited, with notes and additions, by the Rev. Daniel Parsons in 1836.

1130. [ITAL. MS. 64.] P. A. TEALDI : BUSINESS CORRESPONDENCE.

Various sizes. 276 items. 1836-38.

* * Miscellaneous business correspondence, mostly relating to the cloth trade, addressed to Pietro Ascagno Tealdi, merchant of Manchester. Nos. 1-255, letters from abroad, Jan. 1836-Aug. 1838, the majority from Italy (mainly Ancona, Genoa, Leghorn and Turin), with a few from Amsterdam, Brussels and Paris ; in Italian, with the exception of nos. 100, 209 and 212 (English) and nos. 5, 12, 23-24, 28, 34, 41-42, 54, 78, 82, 99, 120, 135-36, 143, 164, 175, 189, 197, 200, 203, 236 and 243 (French). Nos. 256-76, letters from James Clayton and Joseph Clayton of Bradford, Jan. 1836-June 1837, with two exceptions (no. 258, from John Clifford of London, Feb. 20, 1836, and no. 267, a circular of Oct. 22, 1836).

1131. [R. 93853.] CHESHIRE ESTATE BOOK.

Paper. ii + 128. 282 × 230. 1763-75.

* * Estate-book of Cheshire estates, chiefly in Bucklow, Eddisbury and Northwich Hundreds, comprising mainly rentals of Acton, Onston, Grange, Dutton, Preston on the Hill, Windy Weston, Bradshaw, Anderton and Sandiway, and miscellaneous accounts (for labouring, carpentering, surveying, plantation work, bricklaying, sawing, etc.) for the most part relating to the same.

1132. [R. 93854.] BOSTOCK HALL, CO. CHESTER : ACCOUNT BOOK.

Paper. iii + 176 + iii. 192 × 159 mm. 1841-50.

* * Personal, domestic and estate accounts (receipts and payments), June 1841-July 1850. Half-leather binding.

1133. [R. 93846.] E. GORDON DUFF : BOOKS PRINTED UPON VELLUM.

Paper. ix + 174. 193 × 123 mm. 1896.

* * *A Catalogue of the Books Printed Upon Vellum in the John Rylands Library, Manchester.* By E. Gordon Duff, Manchester, 1896, arranged for printing: Title-page; Contents' List; Introduction (i-vii); Catalogue (1-134); Index of Printers (137-41); Index of Towns (142-43); Chronological Index (144-49). Ff. 149^v-74, blank. Dark-blue limp cloth binding. For the bibliographer Edward Gordon Duff (1863-1924), Librarian of the John Rylands Library from 1893 to 1900, see the notices by Strickland Gibson ap. *The Library Association Record*, 2nd Ser., ii (1924), pp. 226-28 and Falconer Madan ap. *Trans. Bibl. Soc.*, 4th Ser., v (1925), pp. 264-66.

1134. [R. 93847.] BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE.

Paper. 2 vols. 218 × 174 mm.; 159 × 97 mm. 1900-01.

* * Minute Book of the The Bibliographical Society of Lancashire, Oct. 16, 1900-Feb. 19, 1901, in the hand of Henry Guppy, Hon. Secretary [and Librarian of the John Rylands Library, 1899-1948], the Minutes being signed by J[ohn] P[hilip] Edmond, E. Gordon Duff [see the note to Eng. MS. 1133 above], Joseph Hall and Charles Hughes. The Minutes occupy ff. 1-10. Ff. 11^v-15 contain Receipts and Expenditure and on the remaining leaves are mounted letters (15) and miscellaneous papers (13) relating to the Society; the correspondents include [Sir] Walter Raleigh (President of the Society), E. Gordon Duff (a Vice-President), Professor Oliver Elton and Professor T. F. Tout (Members of the Committee), and the book-collector George Dunn of Woolley Hall, Maidenhead. With the Minute Book is an Address Book of Members (71 ff.), almost entirely in the hand of Gordon Duff.

1135. [R. 93858.] GENERAL THE HON. COLIN LINDSAY.

Paper. 355 × 260. iv + 414 + iii. sixteenth cent.

* * Presented by Ronald Hall, Esq. *Miscellaneous Works of General the Hon. Colin Lindsay* [3rd son of James, 5th Earl of Balcarres]. F. 1, *His Correspondence* [1771-95] with *His Sisters* [Lady Anne Lindsay, Lady Anne Barnard, and Lady Margaret Fordyce]; f. 39 *A short account of the Marriage of George, Prince of Wales, with Caroline, Princess of Brunswick, in a letter*

[to him] from the *Lady Margaret Fordyce* written 1795 and concluded [f. 43] by his Sister, the *Lady Anne Barnard* 1820-21; f. 71, *Extracts from Colonel [Georg Friedrich von] Tempelhoffe's History of the Seven Years War. . . . Also a Treatise on Winter Posts. To which is added a Narrative of Events at St. Lucia and Gibraltar and of John, Duke of Marlborough's March to the Danube.* Half-leather binding. The latter section of this MS. (ff. 71-414) was printed in 1793 (London, 2 vols.). See also Lord Lindsay's *Lives of the Lindsays*, iii (1849), 331 sqq.

1136. [R. 94252.] JOSEPH HIGGINSON : REDDISH, CO. LANC.

Vellum. ii + 5 + ii. 256 × 205 mm. sixteenth cent.

* * Presented by F. Buckley, Esq., M.A., B.C.L., J.P. Illuminated address presented to Joseph Higginson, Esq., from the Congregation and children of St. Joseph's Church, Reddish, co. Lanc., upon the completion of their new church and the opening of their new schools, both erected by him. Brown morocco binding.

1137. [R. 94277.] HUMPHREY CHETHAM.

Paper. i + 28. 223 × 290 mm. xviii cent.

* * Presented by C. S. Lewis, Esq., M.A., LL.B. Ff. 1-13^v, *A true copie of the last Will [Dec. 16, 1651] of Humphrey Cheetham, Esq^r.* See F. R. Raines and C. W. Sutton, *Life of Humphrey Chetham*, vol. 2 (Chetham Soc., N.S., vol. 50, pp. 228-61); ff. 14-16^v, *The Foundation of the Hospital and Library*, i.e. the charter of Charles II, Nov. 10, 1665 (Raines and Sutton, *op. cit.*, pp. 302-08); f. 17, *An Order for the Governors of the Hospital and Library at Manchester, etc.*, 1669, respecting the building of "a Gallery in the parish Church of Manchester for the Officers and Boys of the said Hospital"; ff. 17^v-28^v, blank. Cf. below Eng. MS. 1149.

1138. [R. 93859.] JOHN MICKLETHWAITE : CORRESPONDENCE.

353 items. Various sizes. xviii-xix cent.

* * Presented by F. M. Thirkell, Esq. Business and family correspondence (1786-1838) of John Micklethwaite, merchant, of Leeds and Ardsley, Yorkshire (W.R.), mostly from correspondents in various Yorkshire towns (mainly Leeds, Wakefield, Sheffield and Barnsley) and in London, with some letters from abroad (Amsterdam, Baltimore, Philadelphia); nos. 342-53 (1790-94) relate to the affairs of Mary Ellis. A collection of deeds relating to Yorkshire (W.R.) and the Micklethwaite family which accompanied this correspondence is now numbered Rylands Charters 4795-933.

1139. [R. 94573.] MRS. ENRIQUETA AUGUSTINA RYLANDS.

Vellum scroll. 510 × 239 mm. 1899.

* * Illuminated vellum scroll, backed with silk and satin and with ivory end-pieces, recording the conferment on Mrs. Enriqueta Augustina Rylands of the Freedom of the City of Manchester at a special meeting of the City Council held in the Town Hall on Sept. 6, 1899; signed by William Henry Vaudrey, Lord Mayor, and William Henry Talbot, Town Clerk. In a silver casket.

1140. [R. 95141.] MRS. ENRIQUETA AUGUSTINA RYLANDS.

Paper. 2 vols. 380 × 272 mm. 1881.

* * Catalogue of the Library at Longford Hall, Stretford, Manchester, the residence of John Rylands (1801-88) and his wife Enriqueta Augustina Rylands (d. 1908). In two volumes of 106 ff. each : vol. 1, alphabetical ; vol. 2, numerical.

1141. [R. 94591.] MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

Paper. 38 ff. 207 × 132 mm. xixth cent.

* * Presented by Richard Hawkin, Esq. *The Misereres* [sic, for *Misericords*] at the Manchester Cathedral, 1483-1508. Anonymous descriptions. Parchment binding.

1142. [R. 95027.] EDWARD BUCKNALL : LEGAL FORMULARY.

Paper. 118 ff. 180 × 150 mm. xviii cent.

* * A legal Formulary, comprising examples of documents of many kinds (parochial, manorial, Hundredal, and general legal), apparently assembled by Edward Bucknall, J.P., as a reference work for his own use ; preceded by a brief index (ff. 2-5^v). The examples, which are in several contemporary hands, are taken from Shropshire documents of the 1660's and relate mainly to Munslow Hundred. Outer front cover ; *Edward Bucknall his Booke An^o Domini 1661* ; this is repeated on f. 1 with the date 1662, and Bucknall's name is mentioned frequently throughout in connexion with the various documents cited. Parchment binding.

1143. [R. 98414.] BISHOPRIC OF WINCHESTER : ACCOUNTS.

Paper. 124 ff. Various sizes. xviii-xviii cent.

* * Contents : (a) ff. 1-102 (c. 375 × 240 mm.), *Episcopatus Winton' : Compotus Caroli Dingley, Armigeri, Thesaurarii de Wolvesey*, for Mich. 1683-Mich. 1687, Mich. 1689-Mich. 1690, and Mich. 1691-Mich. 1692 ; audited by Edward Dallowe. Bound in at the end are (b) ff. 103-10 (315 × 195 mm.), *Charge upon the Treasurer for one yeare ending att Michaelmas 1707*, and (c) ff. 111-24 (310 × 185 mm.), *Arrears of Rent at L.D. 1761*. Formerly Phillipp MS. 24343. Sotheby Sale, Dec. 20, 1949, Lot. 497. Bound by Bramhall and Menzies.

1144. [R. 98414.] BISHOPRIC OF WINCHESTER : LEASEHOLD BOOK.

Paper. ii (parchm.) + 128. 247 × 190 mm. xviii cent.

* * *The Bishop of Winchester's Leasehold Book* (f. 1), containing summaries of leases (including date, names of leasees, term and rent) arranged under the manor, rectory, farm, etc. concerned, normally one page being assigned to each property ; with notes of improved values and fines, and other miscellaneous information. The dates covered are 1683 to 1765, but most of the leases are in the 1730's, 1740's and 1750's, during the Bishopric of Benjamin Hoadly (*D.N.B.*), who was elected to Winchester in Sept. 1734 and died in 1761. Formerly Phillipp MS. 26002. Sotheby Sale, Dec. 20, 1949, Lot 497.

1145. [R. 95155.] COURT OF TURIN : CONSULAR CORRESPONDENCE, 1776-79.

Various sizes. 181 items. xviiiith cent.

* * Consular correspondence (Sept. 16, 1776-Nov. 25, 1779) addressed to William Deane Poyntz, British Chargé d'Affaires at the Court of Turin ; mainly from Nathaniel Davison, Sept. 1776-April 1778 (nos. 1-86 *passim*), and his successor John Birkbeck, April 1778-Nov. 1779 (nos. 87-181 *passim*), British Consuls at Nice. Included are letters from A. Ighina, Louis Riccardi, Thomas Miarns, James Sutherland and Capt. Robert Brine. Original calf binding, with red label on spine stamped : *Nice Correspondence, 1776 to 1779*. Sotheby Sale, Feb. 27, 1950, Lot 268.

1146. [R. 95155.] COURT OF TURIN : CONSULAR CORRESPONDENCE, 1779-1783.

Various sizes. 277 items. xviiiith cent.

* * Consular correspondence (Dec. 1779-March 1783) addressed to Viscount Mount-Stuart, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Turin, his Secretary (D. G. Jacmar) and the Chargé d'Affaires (William Deane Poyntz) mainly from (nos. 1-225 *passim*, Dec. 1779-March 1783) John Birkbeck, Consul at Nice, and (nos. 241-77, Dec. 1779-Oct. 1782) John Udny, Consul at Leghorn ; with numerous enclosures in English, French, and Italian, among which are intelligence reports from the ports of France and Spain. Included are letters and papers of Baron le Clerc, Nice (nos. 226-29, 1782), Francis Fowler, Nice (nos. 230-36, 1782), Clement Richardson, Cagliari (no. 237, 1780), James Traill, Tunis (no. 238, 1780) and Michele Ciarella, Cagliari (nos. 239-40, Dec. 1781-Jan. 1782). Original calf binding, with red label on spine stamped *Consular Correspondence From Nice, Leghorn, Cagliari, 1779 To 1783*. Acquired with 1145 above.

1147. [R. 95155.] COURT OF TURIN : CONSULAR CORRESPONDENCE, 1779-1783.

Various sizes. 206 items. xviiiith cent.

* * Consular correspondence (Dec. 1779-March 1783) addressed to Viscount Mount-Stuart, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Turin, his Secretary (D. G. Jacmar) and the Chargé d'Affaires (Louis Dutens), from : no. 1 (Dec. 1779), Robert Richie, Venice ; nos. 2-203 (Dec. 1779-March 1783), John Collet, Genoa ; no. 204 (Dec. 1782), Louis Riccardi, Vice-Consul at Onaille ; no. 205 (March 1781), Joseph Olivar, Onaille ; and no. 206 (Nov. 1781), John Peter, Ostend ; with enclosures. Original calf bindings, with red label on spine stamped : *Consular Correspondence From Genoa—Venice—Onaille [sic]—Cagliari—Ostend. 1779 To 1783*. Acquired with 1145 above.

1148. [R. 95155.] COURT OF TURIN : VISCOUNT MOUNT-STUART, 1780-82.

Various sizes. 441 ff. xviiiith cent.

* * 18th century copies, apparently in most cases contemporary, preceded by an Index, of : ff. 1-96, memorials, official correspondence, reports and similar papers which were enclosed in Viscount Mount-Stuart's despatches, Jan. 1780-Nov. 1782 ; ff. 97-441, treaties, miscellaneous official correspondence and political papers, among which are *Mémoires et Negotiations Secrets de la Cour de Turin, contenant les relations que Monsieur De Phelippeaux,*

Ambassadeur de France à Turin, a écrites au Roi, son Maître [Oct. 25, 1703-May 21, 1704], avec . . . autres *Mémoires au sujet de la Guerre d'Italie, 1704* (ff. 97-179), *Lettre d'un Ministre à un de ses Amis contenant le sujet de l'abdication du Roy Victor en faveur de Charles Emanuel, son fils, Roy de Sardaigne* (ff. 181-200), *Abstract of the King of Sardinia's Dominions, Revenues, Expences, Armies, Exportations, Importations, Debts, Ressources, etc.* (ff. 273 sqq.), and correspondence and papers (1781-82) relating to the siege and capture of Fort St. Philip, Minorca, including copies of letters exchanged between the Governor, General James Murray, and the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir William Draper (ff. 371-436). Original calf binding, with red label on spine stamped: *Memorials &c. 1780 To 1782. Treaties & Other Political Papers.* Acquired with 1145 above.

1149. [R. 95245.] HUMPHREY CHETHAM.

Vellum. i (paper) + 50 + i. 243 × 170 mm. xviith cent.

* * Presented by Raymond Richards, Esq., M.A., F.S.A. *The Will and Testament of Humphrey Cheetham, Esquire* [Dec. 16, 1651, ff. 1-45^v; with probate, March 21, 1653 54, ff. 46-47], a contemporary copy, in codex form, with elaborate opening initial and several capitals in gold; ff. 47^v-50^v, blank. In a contemporary calf binding (stamped MDCLXII), with gold tooling; rebacked. Book-plates of Sir Francis Wood, Bart., and Raymond Richards. See F. R. Raines and C. W. Sutton, *Life of Humphrey Chetham*, vol. 2 (Chetham Soc., N.S., vol. 50, pp. 228-62) and cf. above English MS. 1137.

1150. [R. 95246.] FRODSHAM, CO. CHESTER: CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS, 17th-18th cent.

Paper. ii + 192 + ii. 347 × 215 mm. xixth cent.

* * Presented by Raymond Richards, Esq., M.A., F.S.A. Contents: Ff. 1-143, *Extracts from y^e Wardens' Account Books of y^e Parish of Frodsham, 1608-1717 passim*, made by Thomas Helsby, the Cheshire historian, in the 1860's and 1870's from "Parish Books" vols. 1-6, a brief description of each of which is given; ff. 143-143^v, notes of receipts and disbursements for 1725-1808, taken in part from vol. 7; ff. 149-53^v (1635-1713), 157-58 (1635-46) and 159-64^v (1640-1716), further extracts, relating mostly to the appointment of wardens, church repairs and the school; ff. 178-79^v, copy of a Seat Roll of Frodsham Church, 10 Hen. VII; ff. 182^v-92^v, copies of similar Rolls, 18th cent. Ff. 144-48^v, 154-56^v, 158^v, 165-77^v, 180-82, blank. Front fly-leaf: *T. Helsby, Lincoln's Inn, 1870.* Book-plate of Raymond Richards. Half-calf binding, with red label on spine stamped: *Frodsham Wardens' MS.*

1151. REV. THOMAS FROGNALL DIBDIN: LETTERS.

144 items. Various sizes. 1809-38.

* * In one volume. A collection of letters (with some enclosures) from the bibliographer Thomas Frognall Dibdin to the printers John Nichols and John Bowyer Nichols, September 1809-December 1838. Nos. 54 and 81 are replies to Dibdin from John Bowyer Nichols; copies of other replies are endorsed on the relevant Dibdin letters. No. 92 is a note from

John Bowyer Nichols to his father John Nichols respecting Dibdin. Bound by Bramhall and Menzies. For other Dibdin correspondence in the Library see English MSS. 71, 700 and 707.

1152. [R. 95250.] HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX : ECCLESIASTICAL LAW.

Paper. 85 ff. 293 × 195 mm. xviith-xviii cent.

* * * *On Ecclesiastical Law*, a holograph of the Rev. Dr. Humphrey Prideaux (1648-1724), consisting of a collection of notes and extracts, medieval in content, in English and Latin, arranged under various headings. (*De electionibus episcoporum*, *De vicariis*, *De appropriationibus et impropriationibus*, *De bonis intestatorum*, etc.). A number of pages are blank. Inserted at the end is a double leaf containing (f. 84) a brief Index. Contemporary stiff paper covers, marbled, with title-slip pasted on spine. Acquired (with the following manuscript) at the Sotheby Sale of April 3, 1950 (Lot 191). For Prideaux, a celebrated Orientalist and Dean of Norwich from 1702 to 1724, see, e.g., *D.N.B.* and *The Life of the Reverend Humphrey Prideaux, D.D.* (London, 1748).

1153. [R. 95250.] SIR EDMUND PRIDEAUX : DIARY.

Paper. 79 ff. 220 × 170 mm. 1710-12.

* * * Diary, apparently of Sir Edmund Prideaux, of a journey on the continent, beginning at Paris on Aug. 15, 1710 and ending (imperfectly) at Ghent on May 3, 1712; most of the entries relate to France (Aug.-Nov. 1710) and Italy (Nov. 1710-Sept. 1711). Original pagination: (1)-(158). Acquired, with the preceding manuscript, at the Sotheby Sale of April 3, 1950 (Lot 191). Bound by Bramhall and Menzies.

1154. [R. 95555.] FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE : LETTERS.

5 items. Various sizes. 1865-68.

* * * Presented by Lady L. J. Worthington. Letters from Florence Nightingale, written from "34 South Street, Park Lane, London W.", July 25, 1865-Nov. 7, 1868, to the architect Thomas Worthington. They concern hospital construction and, in particular, Chorlton Union Infirmary and Prestwich Union New Workhouse.

1155. [R. 95554.] THORNTHWAITHE, WESTMORLAND : PAIN BOOK.

Paper. i + 80 + i. c. 380 × 155 mm. xviith-xviii cent.

* * * Presented by L. H. Orford, Esq., M.A., LL.M. *A pain book taken out of an old one in y^e yeare of our Lord God 1675, w^{ch} old one was begun in the yeare of our Lord God 1612, anno regni Jacobi Regis decimo.* Ff. 1-18^v contain regular entries from 1612 to Nov. 1707; the leaves containing entries for Oct. 1629/April 1633, Oct. 1638/Oct. 1664 and May 1679/April 1680 are missing. Other lacunae occur before and after the present f. 19, an imperfect leaf containing entries, on the recto, for May and part of October, 1709 and, on the verso, for April and October 1730 [sic]. Ff. 20-25 contain entries for 1735 (in part), 1736, 1738-41, 1743, 1746, 1753, 1756, 1770, 1777-80, 1788 and 1794; two undated entries have been added on f. 80^v and the back fly-leaf. Ff. 21^v, 25^v-80, blank. Front fly-leaf: *This Book belongs to the Jury of Thornthwaite* (18th cent.). Parchment binding.

1156. [R. 90995.] TITHES.

Paper. 32 ff. 243 × 183 mm. xviiith cent.

* * Presented by F. Buckley, Esq., M.A., B.C.L., J.P. *Locusts devouring a Poor-man's Pottatoe. Or Pottatoes tythed by the Christian Clergy of the Gentiles. In which is shewed, that Tythes were due only under the Dispensation of the Law to the Jewish Clergy, and are not now payable by any Gospel-Grant, or Indulgence whatsoever to our Ecclesiasticks. . . . Unto which is added A View of our present Establish'd Church of England, as it may be understood from S^t. John's Vision of the Seven Churches of Asia, Rev. : 3, 14-22. Writt by a Country-Ploughman, no Dissenting Sectarist ; but a profound Lover of the Truth* (title-page). Arranged in six chapters (ff. 1-26) ; the appendix (ff. 27-32^v, *Touching the present State of our English Church, as extracted from the Revelation*) ends imperfectly. Original pagination 1-64. Bound by Bramhall and Menzies.

1157. [R. 62137.] RICHARD LANCETER.

Paper. ii + 200. 316 × 215 mm. xviiith cent.

* * Contains the following, by Richard Lanceter, described (f. 29) as "M.A. : sometimes of Cajus Colledge in Cambridge and Minist^r : of Moulton in Norfolk" : (i) ff. 1-28^v, *Galli Cantus*, in three parts (a) ff. 1-6, *Galli Cantus seu Præcursor Gallicinii Primus. Containing two Addresses, The one to the King, the other to the Parliament. Together with a Postscript about the affaires of Religion of most high Concernment. By R. Lanceter, Author of Gallicinium now in y^e Presse*, (b) ff. 7-18^v, *Galli Cantus seu Præcursor Gallicinii Secundus, Containing The making good of those four dreadfull Proposals laid down in Galli Cantu primo* and (c) ff. 19-28^v, *Galli Cantus seu Præcursor Gallicinii Tertius, Tending to the better awaking of secure, dead Sleepers, and also to the fuller satisfaction of y^e awakened, about some things objected against, in Galli Cantu Primo et Secundo. And further shewing that the true way of Salvation, consists wholly and alone, in what are therein pointed unto : and in the rejecting of them and abiding still in the present estate, is absolutely the state of Wrath and Damnation. By the Author of y^e former, R.L.* (ii) ff. 29-198, *Gallicinium, the Cock-Crowing or the giving warning of y^e day of Christ approaching, in two Parts. Part I* (ff. 29-55) comprises a Preface (*The Shepheard to the Reader*, ff. 30-30^v), at the end of which is the note "Here next followes, to be inserted, y^e printed part" ; presumably "y^e printed part" consisted of Sections I and II, for immediately following (ff. 31-55) is Section III, named *Scotoesus*. Part II (ff. 57-199) has the title-page *Gallicinium the second Part, Phosphorus*, and is likewise divided into three Sections, namely, *The first Section, Introductive and Philosophicall, contained in Six Positions* (ff. 57-80^v), *The Second Section, Dissussive Theologicall* [sic] in ten Chapters (ff. 81-181^v) and *The Third Section, Conclusive Theosophicall, Containinge six Conclusions draune from and grounded uppon y^e former Præmises contained in the sections Præcedent* (ff. 182-98), ending *Finis Phosphori Jun: 8th, 1660*, and followed (ff. 198-99) by verses beg. : *Thus far y^e work now done dare challenge Hell*. A note on f. 34^v indicates that the whole MS. was copied from "y^e Author's Copy".

Former owners : " John Rawdon " (f. 6), who also adds the date " June 8, 1660 " at the foot of the title-page of *Galli Cantus . . . primus* and subscribes his initials at the end of that piece ; " BL 474 " (front fly-leaf), i.e. the Bristol Library of Thomas Kerslake (*D.N.B.*) ; J. E. Cornish, bookseller. Pasted on a front fly-leaf is the printed press-mark " Gg. ". Contemporary calf binding. *Galli Cantus . . . primus* and *Galli Cantus . . . secundus* were printed at London in 1660, the latter with the incorrect reading *primus* on the title-page ; another copy of the latter, also showing this incorrect reading, is recorded in the Bodleian Catalogue as having been published in 1659. No record of a printed copy of *Galli Cantus . . . tertius or*, in spite of our copyist's remarks, *Gallicinium*, has so far been traced.

INDEX

- Account Books, 961, 1132, 1143. *See also* Churchwardens' Accounts ; Estate Book.
- Acton, Chesh., rental of, 1131.
- Agutter, Jonathan, 1065.
- Alchorne Library, 915.
- Alderley, Chesh., 971. *See also* Stanley.
- Alexander the Great, 954.
- Allein (Aleen), Richard, 960.
- Althorp, Northants., 915.
- Ambleside, Westmorland, 1036.
- America, Moravians in, 1080.
- Amsterdam, 1130.
- Amyot, Thomas, 1117.
- Ancona, 1130.
- Anderson, Mr., and the East India Co.'s Revenues, 933.
- Anderton, Chesh., rental of, 1131.
- Arcot, 934 ; Nabob of, 928.
- Ardley, Yorks., 1138.
- Aristotle, 954.
- Arkwright, Richard, 1110.
- Armorials, 923-25.
- Army, 1091, 1135 ; 29th Foot, 1029 ; 2nd Queen's Royals, 1025 ; 40th Regiment, 1026 ; 1st Royal Lancashire Militia, 1029 ; *see also* Militia.
- Baguley, Chesh., 981 ; New Hall, 967.
- Balaclava, 1093.
- Baltimore, 1138.
- Bamford, Samuel, 969.
- Baring, Mr., and the East India Co.'s Revenues, 933.
- Barnard, Lady Anne, 1135.
- Barnes, Prof. Joshua, 915.
- Barnsley, Yorks., 1138.
- Bath, Somers., 1123.
- Batty, William, 1062.
- Beaumont, —, 937 ; James, 1069.
- Belbin, Nicholas, 960.
- Beltz, G. F., 916.
- Bengal, 932, 935.
- Benham, Daniel, 1065, 1076.
- Ben(n), William, Rector of All Hallows, Dorchester, 960.
- Bentley, Richard, 915 ; Thomas, 1101-08.
- Berlin, 1072.
- Bethabara, N. Carolina, Moravian Minister at, *see* Fries, John Jacob.
- Bible : New Testament, 936.
- Bibliographical Society of Lancashire, The, 1134.
- Birch, Officer, 914.
- Birkbeck, John, 1145-46.
- Black, William Henry, 1088, 1117.
- Blatchford, Robert, 1040.
- Bliss, Philip, 915.
- Böhler, Peter, 1061, 1076.
- Boldoni, Jean Baptiste, 915.
- Bombay Presidency, 1025.
- Book binding, 944.
- Bosanquet, Jacob, 927.
- Bostock Hall, Chesh., Account Book, 1132.
- Bradford, Yorks., 1130.
- Bradshaw, Chesh., rental of, 1131.
- Braybrooke, Lord, 1117.
- Breedon Priory, Leics., Cartulary of, 987.
- Brine, Capt. Robert, 1145.
- Bristol Library, The, 1157.
- Bristow, Mr., Resident at Lucknow, 928.
- Broad Oaks, Essex, Moravian School at, 1070, 1076.
- Broxton, Chesh., Hundred of, 1091.
- Bruce, John, 926.
- Brussels, 1130.
- Brut*, Layamon's, 956.
- Buckley, F., MSS. presented by, 970, 1136, 1156.
- Bucklow Hundred, Chesh., 984, 1131.
- Bucknall, Edward, J.P., 1142.
- Buesching, Dr. Anton Frederic, 1072.
- Bunsen, Robert Wilhelm, 963.
- Burney, Dr. Charles, 913 ; Charles, 913 ; Charles Parr, 913 ; Fanny, 913.

- Butterworth, John, 969.
 Buxton, Derbs., 914.
 Byrom, John, 967.
 Cagliari, 1146.
 Caldwell, John, 1077.
 Cambridge, Caius College, 1157.
 Caroline of Brunswick [Queen of George IV], 1135.
 Carpenter, Edward, 1040.
 Cartulary, 987.
 Cary, Henry, 1st Viscount Falkland, 942.
 Casaide, Séamus 6, 1098.
 "Cedric II", see Hulme, H.
 Cennick, John, 1064-65.
 Charles Emmanuel I of Sardinia, 1148.
 Cheadle, Chesh., 973.
 Cheshire, 916-25, 957, 967-68, 971-84, 1038, 1091, 1097, 1131-32, 1150; armorials, 923-25; churchwardens' accounts, 1150; Constables of, 1091; estate book, 1131; genealogies, 922, 982; historical collections of H. Hulme, 971-84; historical collections of William Nicholls, 916-25; Militia, 1091; parish registers, 968; Poll Book, 984; Sheriff of, see Cholmondeley, Sir Thomas. See also Dod; Stanley.
 Chester, 1097; garrison, 957; Mayor and Aldermen of, 1091.
 Chester, Dean of, see Cholmondeley, Hugh.
 — Diocese of, Chancellor of the, see Raikes, Rev. Henry.
 Chetham, Humphrey, 1137, 1149.
 Choke, Mr., 955.
 Cholmondeley, Hugh, Dean of Chester, 916; Sir Thomas, Sheriff of Cheshire, 1091.
 Chorlton Union Infirmary, Lancs., 1154.
 Churchill, John, Duke of Marlborough, 1135.
 Churchwardens' Accounts, 1150.
 Ciarella, Michele, 1146.
 Cibber, Colley, 1111.
 Clayton, James, 1130; Joseph, 1130; Sir Robert, 943, 959, 986.
 Clayton Papers, 943, 959, 986.
 Clifford, John, 1130.
 Clive, Mrs. Catherine, 1111.
 Collet, John, 1147.
 Collier, J. Payne, 1117.
 Commonplace-Books, 909, 914, 1023.
 Connor, Samuel, 1059.
 Consular Correspondence, 1145-48.
 Convict Labour, 937.
 Cooke, Joseph, 1097.
 Cornish, J. E., 1157.
 Cotterel, Edward, 1051.
 Craig, Capt. Milliken, 927.
 Crosse, Thomas, 957.
 Croxton, James, 957.
 Cumberland, George, 1116 n.
 Dallowe, Edward, 1143.
 Danube, R., 1135.
 Darius, *King of Persia* (a Tragedy), 1112.
 Darwin, Erasmus, 1110.
 Davies, Dr. John, of Queen's College, Cambridge, 915.
 Davison, Nathaniel, 1145.
 Derbyshire, tour (1761-65) in, 1122.
Destruccio de Ierusalem per Titum et Vespasianum, 951.
 Devaynes, William, 926.
 Dialect, Lancashire, 969.
 Diaries and Journals: Peter Böhler, 1061; John Caldwell, 1077; Thomas Crewe Dod, 1120; John Forbes, 958; John Jacob Fries, 1030; Mary Hatfield, 1049; Dr. William Hibbert, 1025; Capt. Edward Jones, 1029; Richard Kay, 1033; Wenceslaus Neisser, 1061; Sir Edmund Prideaux, 1153; William Edward Rawlinson, 970; Dorothy Richardson, 1122-26; Lt. Henry Smith, R.M., 1113; Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, 1090; John Töltschig, 1063; Richard Viney, 965, 1063.
 Dibdin, Rev. Thomas Frognall, 915, 1151.
 Dingley, Charles, Treasurer of Wolvesey, 1143.
Distruccio Ierusalem, 952.
 Dixon, J. Henry, 1117.
 Dod, Thomas, Crewe, Journal of, 1120; family, pedigree of, 1120.
 Dodd, Thomas, printseller, 1115-16.
 Dorchester, Rector of All Hallows, see Ben(n), William.
 Dorsey, Sarah Anne Ellis, 1094.
 Draper, Sir William, Lieutenant-Governor of Minorca, 1148.
 Drax, Yorks., Moravian School at, 1070.
 Dublin, Moravians in, 1069, 1076.
 Duff, E. Gordon, Librarian of The John Rylands Library, 1133, 1134.
 Dugdale, William, 923.
 Duncan, Jonathan, 926.
 Dundas, Henry, 1st Viscount Melville, 926-27; Robert, 2nd Viscount Melville, 926.
 Dunn, George, of Woolley Hall, Maidenhead, 1134.
 Dutens, Louis, Chargé d'Affaires at Turin, 1147.
 Dutton, Chesh., rental of, 1131.
 East India Company, 926-35.
 Eccles, Lancs., 914.
 Eddisbury, Chesh., Hundred of, 1091, 1131.
 Edge, Chesh., 1120; Hall, 1120.
 Edinburgh, 989, 1038; Moravians in, 1076; Theological College, 958.
 Edington, Wilts., 988.
 Edmond, John Philip, 1134.
 Egypt, 1025.
 Eldon, Lord, 926.
 Eliot, Sir John, 942.

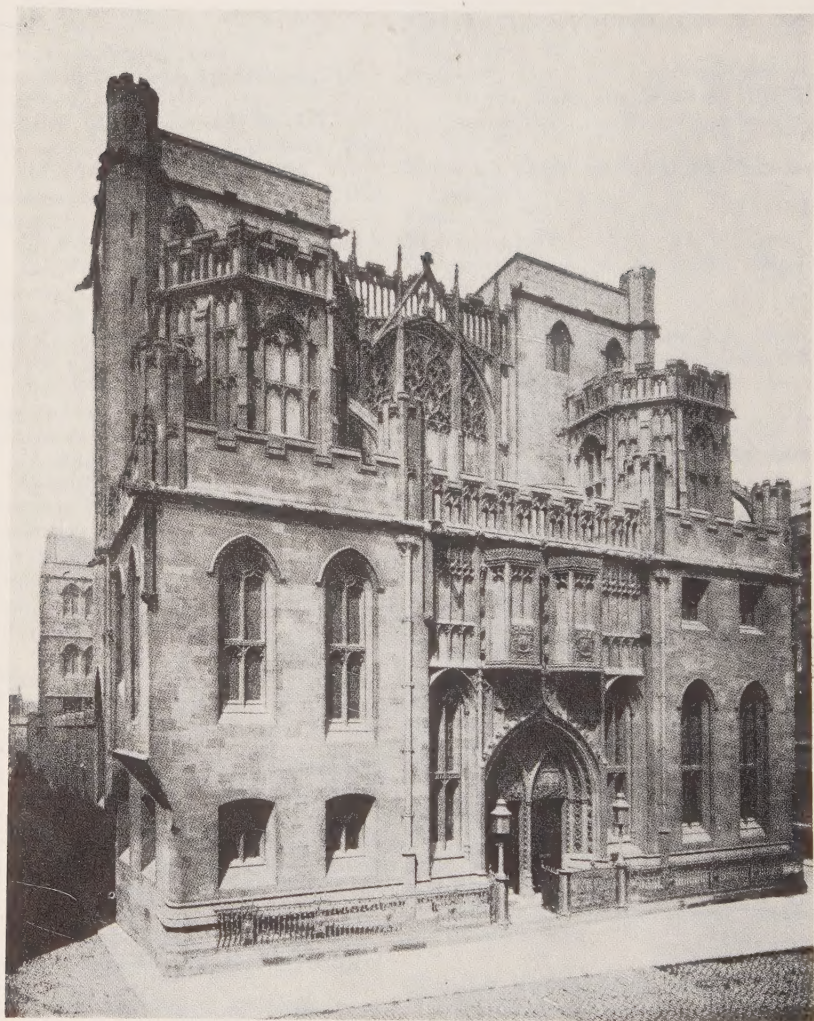
- Elliott, Rev. William, 1071.
 Ellis, Mary, 1138.
 Ellwood, Thomas, 1035.
 Elton, Professor Oliver, 1134.
 Engravers and Engravings, 1115-16.
 Estate Book, 1131.
 Eton, 940.
 Fairfield, Moravians at, 1070, 1078.
 Falkland (Faulkland), Viscount, *see* Cary.
 Flaxman, John, 1110.
 Fletewood, Charles, manager of Drury Lane Theatre, 1111.
 Forbes, John, of Corse, 958; Bishop Patrick, 958.
 Fordyce, Lady Margaret, 1135.
 Fort St. George, Madras, 928.
 Fort St. Philip, Minorca, 1138.
 Fort William, India, 928.
 Foster, William, 1079.
 Fowler, Francis, 1146.
 Fox, Augustus Lane, *see* Rivers.
 France, 1050, 1119, 1146, 1153; engraved portraits, 1116. *See also* Paris.
 France, R. Sharpe, 914.
 Francia, Jacomo, 1116 n.
 Franklin, Benjamin, 1110.
 Fries, John Jacob, Moravian Minister at Bethabara, N. Carolina, 1080.
 Frodsham, Chesh., church, 1150; churchwardens' accounts, 1150; school, 1150.
 Fulneck, Yorks, 1054-56, 1070, 1078.
 Furnivall, F. J., 915.
 Gaelic songs, 1098.
 Gardner and Sons, Messrs., MS. presented by, 1120.
 Garrick, David, 1110, 1111.
 Genealogies, 922, 971-82, 1052.
 Genoa, 1130, 1147.
 George III, correspondence of, 912.
 Ghent, 1153.
 Gibraltar, 1135.
 Gifford, Joseph, of Taunton, Somerset, 961.
 Goddard, Louisa, 1110.
 Grange, Chesh., rental of, 1131.
 Greenwood, Emily, MS. presented by, 1099; Dr. Joseph Gouge, Principal of Owens College, Manchester, 1099.
 Griffith, William, 1069.
 Guppy, Dr. Henry, Librarian of The John Rylands Library, 1134.
 H., J., 1098.
 Hale, Chesh., 981, 989.
 — Barns, Chesh., 1029.
 Hale, Sir Matthew, 955.
 Hall, Joseph, 1134; Ronald, MS. presented by, 1135.
 Hammond, William, 1064.
 Hardie, James Keir, 1040.
 Hardiman, James, 1098.
 Hardwicke, Lord, 940.
 Harrison, Frederic, 1095.
 Harvie, Robert, 957.
 Hassé, Leonard Gadow, 1065.
 Hatfield, Jonathan, of Leeds, Yorks., 1051; Mary, 1049.
 Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire, 1072; Moravians in, 1076, 1077.
 Hawkin, Richard, MSS. presented by, 1040, 1141.
 Hayman, Sir Peter, 942.
 Helsby, Thomas, 1150.
 Herbert, William, bibliographer, 915.
 Herrnhaag, 1057.
 Herrnhut, Saxony, archives at, 1054-87 *passim*; Moravian Synod of 1836 at, 1059.
 Hibbert, Lt.-Col. George, 1026; Samuel, jun., 1023; Titus, 989; Dr. William, 1025; family, 1024. *See also* Hibbert-Ware; Ware.
 Hibbert-Ware, Rev. G., MSS. presented by, 989-1038; Capt. G. H., 1027; Mary Clementina, 1034-38; Dr. Samuel, 989-1026, 1029-34; Sarah, 1029; Titus, 989, 1026, 1029. *See also* Hibbert; Ware.
 Hibbert-Ware Papers, 989-1038.
 Higginson, Joseph, 1136.
 High Legh, Chesh., 974.
 Hirschberg, Moravian Synod at, 1057.
 Hoadly, Benjamin, Bishop of Winchester, 1144.
 Hobart, Sir Miles, 942.
 Holland, William, 1063, 1076.
 Holles, Denzil, 942.
 Homer, Joshua Barnes's edn. of, 915.
 Horsfall, G. C., MS. presented by, 957.
 Horsham St. Faith, Norfolk, rental of, 941.
 Household expenses, 989, 1096.
 Hudson, Mrs. E. M., MSS. presented by, 987-88; Rev. W., Vicar of Saddleworth, Lancs., 987-88.
 Hughes, Charles, 1134.
 Hulme, H. ("Cedric II"), of Timperley, Chesh., 968; MSS. presented by, 967, 971-85.
 Hutton, James, 1057, 1064, 1076.
 Hymns, Moravian, 1064, 1082-86.
 Hyndman, H. M., 1040.
 Ighina, A., 1145.
 India, 926-35, 970, 1025, 1088.
 Ingham, Benjamin, 1062, 1076.
 Ireland, 1028-29, 1050.
 — Lord Deputy of, *see* Cary, Henry, 1st Viscount Falkland.
 — Lord Lieutenant of, *see* Townshend, George, 4th Viscount Townshend.
 — Moravians in, 1057, 1066, 1069, 1076-77, 1081.
 — nobility of, 942.
 Italy, 1025, 1051, 1130, 1145-48, 1153.

- Jacmar, D. G., 1146-47.
 Jacob, John, 942.
 John Rylands Library, The, *see* Rylands Library, The John.
 Johnes of Hafod, Thomas, 915.
 Johnson, E., MS. presented by, 960; Richard, 957.
 Jones, Capt. Edward, 1029.
 Journals, *see* Diaries.
 Jowett, Benjamin, 1095.
- Kay, Richard, 1033.
 Kendal, Westmorland, 1036.
 Kerslake, Thomas, 1157.
 Kirkby Ireleth, Lancs., Presentment Book of the manor of, 1100.
 Kirkes, Thomas, 957.
 Knaresborough, Yorks., 1037; church, *see* Slingsby Chapel in.
 Knutsford, Chesh., 975.
 Königsdorffer, Gottlob, 1080.
 Koranda, Wenzel, 1060.
 Kostka, John, 1060.
 Krueger, Herman, 1065.
- Labour Movement, the, 1040.
 Lancashire, 909, 1036; Bibliographical Society of, 1134; dialect glossary, 969; Moravians in, *see* Fairfield; tours in (1761-65, 1779), 1122, 1125; tradesmen's bills, 1024.
 Lancaster, Lancs., 1036.
 Lanceter, Richard, Minister of Moulton, Norf., 1157.
 Lausanne, 937.
 Law, Ecclesiastical, 1152.
 Layamon's *Brut*, 956.
 Leasehold Book, 1144.
 le Clerc, Baron, 1146.
 Leeds, Yorks., 1138.
 Legal Commonplace-Book, 909; Formulary, 1142.
 Leghorn, 1130, 1146.
 Leigh, Austen, 1039.
 Leominster, Heref., Moravian Congregation at, 1069.
 Lerwick, Moravians in, 1076.
 Lewis, C. S., MS. presented by, 1137.
 Libbey, Rev. John Daniel, 1071-72.
 — Rev. John Norman, Principal of Fairfield College, Manchester, 910, 945-50; Moravian papers of, 1054-86; correspondence of, 1087.
The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye, 955.
 Lindsay, Lady Anne, 1135; Gen. the Hon. Colin, 1135.
 Liverpool, Lancs., 1041-53 *passim*, 1114-15.
 London, 1024, 1049, 1124, 1130, 1138; Covent Garden, 18th cent. Calendar of plays at, 1111; Drury Lane, 18th cent. Calendar of plays at, 1111; Lincoln's Inn, 1150; Lindsey House, Chelsea, Moravians at, 1056-57, 1080; Red Lion St., 1057; South St. (Park Lane), 1154; Tavistock St. (Covent Garden), 1115.
 London, Alderman of, *see* Clayton, Sir Robert; Morris, John.
 — Lord Mayor of, *see* Clayton, Sir Robert.
 — Moravians in, 1054-57, 1069, 1076; Synod 1058.
 — Sheriff, of, *see* Clayton, Sir Robert.
 Lowe, John, 914.
 Lucknow, Resident at, *see* Bristow, Mr.
 Lymm, Chesh., 976.
 Lynar (Heinrich Casimir Gottlieb zu), Count, 1072.
 Lysons, Daniel, 917; Samuel, 917.
- Macartney, Lord, 928.
 MacDonald, James Ramsay, 1040.
 McLachlan, Rev. H., MSS. presented by, 1041-53.
 Madras, 927. *See also* Fort St. George.
 Malmesbury, Wilts., 1081.
 Malta, 1025.
 Manchester, 985, 989, 1130; Cathedral, 1137, 1141; Chetham's Hospital and Library, 1137; Fairfield, 1070, 1078; Fairfield College, Principal of, *see* Libbey, Rev. John Norman; Longford Hall, Stretford, Catalogue of Library at, 1140; Miles Plating, 962; Owens College, 1099; St. Ann's Square, 1023. *See also* Rylands Library, The John.
 — Dissenting Meeting Houses in, 1031.
 — Freedom of the City of, 1139.
 — Lord Mayor of, *see* Vaudrey, William Henry.
 — Moravians in, 1070, 1078.
 — Town clerk of, *see* Talbot, William Henry.
 — tradesmen's bills, 1024.
 Marienborn, 1057-58.
 Marlborough, Duke of, *see* Churchill, John.
 Marton, Chesh., 977.
 Martyn, J. K., 1079.
Marvels of India, 954.
Marvels of the East, 954.
 Mathews, General, 928.
 Mathias, David, 1069.
 Mayer, Joseph, 1101-16, 1118; verses of, 1119.
 Medical Papers, 1032.
 Mediterranean, Journal of Lt. Henry Smith, R.M., in, 1113.
 Mellone, Antonio, 1051.
 Melville Papers, 926-27.
 Meteyard, Eliz., 1110.
 Methodism, 1057.

- Meyer, Richard, 963.
 Miarns, Thomas, 1145.
 Michaud, M., 937.
 Micklethwaite, John, 1138; family, 1138.
 Midgley, L. Margaret, Librarian of The William Salt Library, 1120.
 Militia: England, 939, 1029, 1091; Piedmont, 939; Spain, 939; Sweden, 939; Switzerland, 939.
 Milne, John, 958.
 Minorca, Governor of, *see* Murray, General James; Lieutenant-Governor of, *see* Draper, Sir William. *See also* Fort St. Philip.
 Mirfield, Yorks., 1079.
 Mobberley, Chesh., 978, 1038.
 Monro, David Binning, 1095.
 Moravians, 910, 945-50, 1054-87; Biographies, 1062-66, 1068, 1080, 1086, *see also* Ministers; Conferences and Synods, 910, 1054-59, 1078; Correspondence, 1063-64, 1069-70, 1086-87; Diaries, 965, 1061, 1063-64, 1077, 1080; Education, 1070; Finance, 1071; Headquarters' Diary, 945-50, 1073; History, 1072, 1074-77, 1087; Hymns and Hymn Writers, 1064, 1082-86; Ministers, Teachers, Labourers, etc., 1066-68, 1079; Schools, *see* Broadoaks, Drax, Fairfield, Fulneck; Societies and Congregations, 1069.
 — in America, 1080; England, 1054-87 *passim*; Ireland, 1057, 1066, 1069, 1076-77, 1081; Scotland, 1076, 1081; Wales, 1069, 1076-77.
 Moravian Union, MSS. presented by, 910, 945-50.
 Morley, M., 958; Mrs. R. E., MS. presented by, 958.
 Morris, John, Alderman of the City of London, 943, 959, 986.
 Mortimer, Benjamin, Pastor of the First Moravian Church, New York, 1080; family, 1080.
 Moulton, Norf., minister of, *see* Lanceter, Richard.
 Müller, Joseph, 1060.
 Mulso, Rev. John, 911.
 Munslow Hundred, Shropshire, 1142.
 Murray, General James, Governor of Minorca, 1148.
 Nantwich, Chesh., Hundred of, 1091.
 Napier, Sir John, 942.
 Naples, 1051.
 Nazareth Hall, Pennsylvania, 1080.
 Neisser, Wenceslaus, 1061, 1076.
 New Testament, *see* Bible.
 New York, Pastor of the First Moravian Church at, *see* Mortimer, Benjamin.
 Nice, 1145-46.
 Nicholls, William, 916-25; correspondence, 916-17.
 Nichols, John, 1151; John Bowyer, 1151.
 Nicholson, Elizabeth, *see* Thomson; Francis, 1052; James, 1041-45 *passim*, 1047, 1050; Robert, 1048; Thomas, 1046.
 Nicholson Papers, 1041-53.
 Nightingale, Florence, 1154.
 Nitschmann, David, 1076.
 Norfolk, Commission of the Peace for, 940.
 Northenden, Chesh., 972.
 Northwich, Chesh., Hundred of, 1131.
 Norwich, Dean of, *see* Prideaux, Rev. Dr. Humphrey.
 Nottinghamshire, tour (1761-65) in, 1122.
 Ockbrook, co. Derby, Moravian Congregation at, 1064; Moravian records, 1081.
 Oldham, Lancs., Working Class Movement in, 1095.
 Olivar, Joseph, 1147.
 Onaile (Oneille), 1147.
 Onston, Chesh., rental of, 1131.
 Orford, L. H., MS. presented by, 1155.
 Osborne, Daniel, 1118.
 Ostend, 1147.
 Ottley, W. Y., 1116 n.
 Oude, 970.
 Oxford, tour (1770) in, 1123.
 Oxford Movement, The, 962.
 Pain Book, 1155.
 Paris, 1130, 1153.
 Parish Registers, 968.
 Parliament, 912, 942, 1157.
 Parsons, Rev. Daniel, 1129; E., MS. presented by, 1039.
 Payne, Roger, 944.
 Pennsylvania, 1080.
 Percy Society, Minute Book of The, 1117.
 Peter, John, 1147.
 Pettigrew, T. J., 1117.
 Phelypeaux (Phelippeaux), Raimond-Balthazar, Marquis de, French Ambassador at Turin, 1148.
 Philadelphia, 1138.
 Piedmont, Militia of, 939.
 Pierpont Morgan Library, 944.
 Pitt, William, 908, 912, 937.
 Pitt Papers, 908, 928-35.
 Plitt, John, 1057, 1077.
 Plymouth, Moravians at, 1071.
 Pontefract, Yorks., 1037.
 Poyntz, William Deane, British Chargé d'Affaires at the Court of Turin, 1145-46.
 Presbyterianism, 966.
 Presentment Book, Manorial, 1100.
 Preston, Lancs., 988; Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, 988.

- Preston on the Hill, Chesh., rental of, 1131.
 Prestwich Union New Workhouse, Lancs., 1154.
 Price, Joseph, 968.
 Prideaux, Sir Edmund, 1153; Rev. Dr. Humphrey, Dean of Norwich, 1152.
 Purser, F., 1086.
 Pyrenees, A. P. Stanley's tour in, 1090.
- Quakers, 1035.
 Quince, Georg, 963.
- Raikes, Rev. Henry, Chancellor of the Diocese of Chester, letters to, 1121.
 Raimondi, Marc' Antonio, 1116 n.
 Raleigh [Sir] Walter, 1134.
 Ranrau, Eirch von, 1077.
 Ratcliffe, —, 1096.
 Ravensdale, co. Louth, 1046.
 Rawdon, John, 1157.
 Rawlinson, William Edward, 970.
 Reay, Thomas, 1114.
 Recipes, 1030, 1053.
 Reddish, Lancs., St. Joseph's Church in, 1136.
 Renouard, Antoine-Augustin, 915.
 Rentals, 941, 1097.
 Reynolds, Sir Joshua, 1110.
 Riccardi, Louis, 1145, 1147.
 Richards, Raymond, MSS. presented by, 1149-50.
 Richardson, Clement, 1146; Dorothy, 1122-29; Rev. Henry, Rector of Thornton in Craven, Yorks., 1122; Mary, see Roundell.
 Richie, Robert, 1147.
 Rivers, Alice (*née* Stanley), wife of Lt.-Gen. Augustus Lane Fox-Pitt-, 1093; Lt.-Gen. Augustus Lane Fox-Pitt-, 1093.
 Roberts, D. Lloyd, MS. bequeathed by, 936.
 Rochfort, H.M.S., 1113.
 Rokycana, John, 1060.
 Roscoe, Sir Henry Enfield, 963-64.
 Ross (Sir) Ronald, 963.
 Rostherne, Chesh., 979, 1038; Parish Registers of, 968.
 Roundell, Eleanor, 1122-29; Mary (*née* Richardson), 1122-26; Rev. William, Rector of Thornton in Craven, Yorks., 1122-26.
 Rugby school, 1089.
 Rylands, Enriqueta Augustina, 1139-40; John, 1140.
 Rylands Library, The John, Althorp collection in, 915; books printed on vellum in, 1133.
 — Librarians of, see Duff, E. Gordon; Guppy, Henry.
 — See also Rylands, Enriqueta Augustina; Rylands, John.
- S., J^o. H^y., 1072.
 Saddleworth, Lancs., Vicar of, see Hudson, Rev. W.
- St. Christopher*, Life of, 954.
 St. George, Richard, 925.
 St. Lucia, 1135.
 Sale, Chesh., 980.
 Sandiway, Chesh., rental of, 1131.
 Sardinia, 1145-48.
 — Envoy to Turin, see Stuart, John, Viscount Mount-Stuart.
 — King of, 1148. See also Charles Emmanuel I; Victor Amadeus I.
 Sastry, Wedanayaga, 1088.
 Scarborough, Yorks., 1037.
 Scotland, 958, 966, 1038, 1052, 1091; Moravians in, 1076, 1081; nobility of, 942. See also Edinburgh.
 Scott, David, 926.
 Scott, Mr., and the East India Co.'s Revenues, 933; Sir Walter, 1129.
 Seaforth, Lancs., 1089.
 Sebastopol, 1027.
 Seddon, Elizabeth, 1047.
 Sermons, 960.
 Seward, Anna, 1110.
 Sheen, Rev. H. E., 962.
 Sheffield, Yorks., 1138.
 Sheffield, Lord, see Stanley, Edward Lyulph.
 Ship Money, 1091.
 Shorthand, New Testament in, 936.
 Shropshire, 1142.
Siege of Jerusalem, The, 951-53.
 Slingsby, Sir Henry, 1129.
 Slingsby Chapel, in Knaresborough church, Yorks., 1129.
 Smiles, Dr. Samuel, 1101-1110.
 Smith, Charles Roach, 1113; Lt. Henry, R.M., 1113; Mr., and the E. India Co.'s Revenues, 933.
 Spain, 939, 1146.
 Spangenberg, Augustus Gottlieb, 1063.
 Spencer, Lord, 915.
 Stamford, Roger, 10th Earl of, MS. presented by, 911; William, 9th Earl of, 911.
 Stamp, Blanshard, 909.
 Stanley, Alice, see Rivers; Arthur Penrhyn (Dean of Westminster), 1089-90; Catherine, 1089; Charles, 1089; Edward John, 2nd Lord Stanley of Alderley, 1092; Edward Lyulph, 4th Lord Stanley of Alderley, 4th Lord Sheffield, 1092-95; Henrietta Maria, Lady Stanley of Alderley, 1092; Hon. John Constantine, 1093; Sir John Thomas, 1097; Louisa Dorothea, 1093; Mary, 1089; Hon. Maude, 1093; Owen, 1089.
 Stanley Papers, 1089-90, 1092-97.
 Stretford, Lancs., 914.
 Stuart, Andrew, 926; John, Viscount Mount-Stuart, Envoy to Turin, 1146-48; Major-General, 928.
 Sutherland, James, 1145.

- Sweden, Militia of, 939.
 Switzerland, 1119; Militia of, 939.
 Sykes, Sir Mark Masterman, 1116 n.
- Talbot, William Henry, Town Clerk of Manchester, 1139.
 Tanjore, 934.
 Tealdi, Pietro Ascagno, 1130.
 Tempelhoffe, Col. Georg Friedrich von, 1135.
 Theatrical Calendar, 1111.
 Thirkell, F. M., MS. presented by, 1138.
 Thomson, Elizabeth (*née* Nicholson), 1046, 1053; Mary, 1046; Robert, 1046.
 Thornthwaite, Westmorland, Pain Book of, 1155.
 Thornton in Craven, Yorks. (W.R.), Rector of, *see* Richardson, Rev. Henry; Roundell, Rev. William.
 Timperley, Chesh., 981.
 Tithes, 1156.
 Töltschig, John, 1063, 1076.
 Tomline, George Pretymann, Bp. of Winchester, 908; William Edward, 908.
 Tout, Professor T. F., 1134.
 Townshend, George, 4th Viscount (later 1st Marquis), 940; Horatio, Baron (later 1st Viscount, 938.
 Townshend Papers, 938-41.
 Tradesmen's Bills, 1024.
 Trafford, Edmund, 914.
 Traill, James, 1146.
 Tunis, 1146.
 Turin, 1130. *See also* Sardinia.
- Udny, John, 1146.
 Uttley, Miss, 1040.
- Vale Royal, Chesh., 1091.
 Vaudrey, William Henry, Lord Mayor of Manchester, 1139.
 Venice, 1147.
 Victor Amadeus I of Sardinia, 1148.
 Viney, Richard, 1076; biographical materials relating to, 1063; Diary, 965, 1063.
- Wakefield, Yorks., 1138.
 Wales, Moravians in, 1076. *See also* Haverfordwest.
 — North, 1038; Moravians in, 1069.
- Wales, George, Prince of, 912, 1135.
 Walker, Edward, MS. presented by, 1100.
 Ward (Sir), A. W., 963.
 Ware, Sir James, 1028; Robert, 1028. *See also* Hibbert; Hibbert-Ware.
 Watt, James, 1109; James, jun., 1109.
 Watteville, Frederick de, 1077, 1079.
 Waugh, Edwin, 969.
 Wedgwood, Josiah, sen., correspondence of, 1101-10; Josiah, jun., letters to, 1109-10; Thomas, 1110; family, correspondence of, 1101-10.
 Well House Chapel and School, the Moravians and, 1071.
 Wesleys, the, 967.
 West, Lewis, 1079.
 Westminster, Dean of, *see* Stanley, Arthur Penrhyn.
 Westmorland, 1036.
 White, Rev. Gilbert, of Selborne, 911; Henry, 911; John, 911; Rev. John Tahourdin, 911.
 Whitehead, Thomas, 957; William, 957.
 Whittall, G., MS. presented by, 969.
 Wilbraham, Roger of Nantwich, Chesh., 923.
 William Salt Library, The, Stafford, Librarian of, *see* Midgley, L. Margaret.
 Wiltshire, Moravians in, 1076.
 Winchester, Bishop of, *see* Hoady, Benjamin; Tomline, George Pretymann.
 — Bishopric of, 1143-44.
 Windermere, 1036.
 Windy Weston, Chesh., rental of, 1131.
 Wirral Hundred, Chesh., 1091; Committee of Sequestration in, 957.
 Woffington, Pegg, 1111.
 Wolvesey, Treasurer of, *see* Dingley, Charles.
 Wood, Sir Francis, 1149.
 Worthington, Lady L. J., MS. presented by, 1154; Thomas, 1154.
 Wright, Sir Robert Samuel, 1095.
- York, 1037.
 Yorkshire, 1037, 1122, 1125-26; Moravians in, 1076, *see also* Fulneck, Mirfield; tradesmen's bills, 1024.
 Zinzendorf, Nicolaus Ludwig, Count von, 1053, 1076; letters to, 1063-64.



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